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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

INDIA.

VOL. I.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

LONDON:

JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXX.

LONDON:
Printed by W. CLOWES,
Stamford-street.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

INDIA.

[A region of Asia, lying between lat. 6° and 35° N., and long. 68° 40′ and 92° E. Bounded, N., by the Himalaya Mountains; E., by the Burrampooter and the Bay of Bengal; S., by the Indian Ocean; and W., by the Indian Ocean, the Indus, and the Sollimaun Mountains.]

UNDER the classical appellation of India, the ancients appear to have comprised the whole of that vast region of Asia stretching east of Persia and Bactria, as far as the country of the *Sinæ*; its northern boundary being the Scythian desert, and its southern limit, the ocean. The name is generally supposed to have been derived from the river Indus, which waters its western extremity, and which signifies the Blue or Black River. The extensive application of the word renders it, however, more probable, that it was employed to denote the country of the *Indi*, or Asiatic Ethiops; answering to the Persian Hindoo-stan, or the country of the Hindoos.* By the Brahmins, the

* The Greeks gave the appellation of Indians both to the southern nations of Africa and to the Hindoos, using the words Indian and Ethiop as convertible terms. Herodotus describes the eastern Ethiops, or Indians, as differing from those of Africa by their long hair, as opposed to the woolly head of the Caffre. Virgil speaks of the Abyssinian Ethiops under the same name. (*Georg.* iv. 293. *Æn.* vi. 794.) See Vincent's Periplus, Prel. Dis. 10, 11. Sir W.

country is denominated *Medhyama*, or *Medhya-b'humi*, the central land,* and *Punyab'humi*, the land of virtue; appellations vague and unmeaning: it is also called *Bharat-khand*, the kingdom of Bharat, who is fabled to have been its first monarch. Taken in its most extended application, as denoting the countries inhabited by the Hindoos, it comprises a considerable territory west of the Indus; and part of Affghanistan, as well as Tatta and Sinde, must be included within its limits.† By the Mohammedan writers, the term Hindostan is restricted to the eleven provinces lying to the north of the Nerbuddah river, which belonged to the empire of the Mogul sovereigns of Delhi. This is now usually distinguished as Hindostan Proper. ‡

Jones's Works, 4to, i. 114. Bryant's Anal., iv. 272, *et seq.* No such words, Mr. Wilkins says, as Hindoo or Hindostan, are to be found in the Sanscrit dictionary. The name, however, which seems to have originated with the Persians, is as ancient as the earliest profane history extant.

* The appellation, Middle land, is said to have been given to the country from its occupying the centre of the back of the tortoise that supports the world. The Chinese, however, in like manner, call their country *Chung-kwe*, the central kingdom, and *Tchon-koo*, the centre of the world. This geographical place of honour has been claimed by many semi-barbarous nations.

† "Whether Sind, westward of the Indus, belongs properly to Persia or to India, is, perhaps, as doubtful a circumstance as the appropriation of Egypt to Asia or to Africa. Strabo and Arrian, after Eratosthenes, declare India limited by the Indus westward; yet, in this direction, our modern Sind extends considerably beyond the river, while it is generally assigned to Hindustan by the Eastern writers."—OUSELEY'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 149. The Orientals distinguish, perhaps arbitrarily, between Sind and Hind: they apply the latter word to India, (as *Bahr al Hind*, the Indian Sea,) the former to the Persian side of the Indus. D'Herbelot says, that the Persians call the Abyssinians *Siah Hindou*, black Indians. Can Sinde be a contraction of the two words?

‡ "Strictly speaking, the name ought to be applied only to that part which lies to the north of the parallels of 21° or 22°. The

Some modern geographers consider the limits of Hindostan as co-extensive with those of the Hindoo religion. "This delineation," Mr. Hamilton remarks, "has the advantage of being singularly well defined on three sides by strong natural barriers. According to this arrangement, Hindostan is separated, on the north, from the table-land of Tibet, by the lofty chain of the Himalaya mountains, which commences at the Indus about the 35th degree of N. latitude, and passing Cashmere in the same parallel, extends thence in a south-easterly direction to an unascertained distance beyond the limits of Bootan. To the south, Hindostan is every where bounded by the ocean, and on the west, by the course of the river Indus. To the east, its limits are more difficult to define; but the most distinct are the range of hills and forests that skirt the Bengal districts of Chittagong and Tiperah, and stretch north to the Brahmaputra, near to where that immense river, after having long flowed almost due west, makes a sudden sweep to the south. In this north-eastern corner, the Hindoo religion is irregularly diffused, as it extends, far beyond the limits assigned, into Assam and Cassay, while that of Buddha prevails in Bootan, and protrudes into the Brahminical regions on the banks of the Teesta."*

The extent to which the Hindoo or Brahminical

Nerbuddah river is, indeed, the reputed southern boundary of Hindoostan, as far as it goes; and the southern frontiers of Bengal and Bahar compose the remainder of it. The countries on the south of this line, according to the Indian geographers, go under the general name of Deccan, and comprise nearly one half of the tract generally known by the name of the Mogul empire. But, as the term Hindoostan has been applied in a lax sense to this whole region, it may be necessary to distinguish the northern part of it by the name of Hindoostan *Proper*."—RENNELL'S *Memoir*, p. xix.

* Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, vol. i. p. xviii.

faith has prevailed, can hardly be admitted, however, as fixing the geographical boundary of the country, which must be determined either by its natural or by its political limits. The latter, after undergoing perpetual changes, have, by the conquests of the British, been extended eastward into the Buddhic states; and neither the course of the Indus nor that of the Ganges has at any time served to circumscribe the faith or the power of India, or to protect her frontier from invasion. Rivers may serve as lines of demarcation between territorial subdivisions or petty principalities, but they are ill adapted to constitute the permanent barriers of empire. Under the appellation of Ultra-Gangetic India, some writers have improperly comprised the whole groupe of countries lying between the Bay of Bengal and the Chinese Sea. This is the Lesser India of Marco Polo, which he distinguishes by that term from the Greater India, extending from Cape Comorin to Sinde. Besides these two Indies, he mentions a third, which he calls the Middle or Second India, comprehending Abyssinia and the Arabian coast as far as the Persian Gulf.* According to

* Marsden's Marco Polo, p. 717, and note 1454. "The division termed the Greater India," according to the Venetian Traveller, "extends from Maäbar" (the Coromandel coast) "to Kesmacoran" (Kej-Mekran), "and comprehends thirteen large kingdoms." He professedly notices only the provinces and cities that lie upon the sea-coast. Among these are enumerated, the province of *Maábar* (so called from a word signifying a passage or ferry, in allusion to Rama's bridge); the kingdom of *Murphili* or *Mousul* (Masulipatam, the *Mesolia* of Ptolemy, anciently Telingana); the province of *Lac*, *Loac*, or *Lar* (conjectured to be the central Carnatic or district of Arcot); the kingdom of *Koulam* (Cochin); the province of *Kumari* (Comorin); the kingdom of *Dely* (Dilla, now Canara); the kingdom of *Malabar* (which he places N. of this, in the Concan); the kingdom of *Guzerat*; that of *Kanan* (or *Tana*; the true reading and meaning are doubtful); the kingdom of *Kam-*

another threefold division of the Indies, the first India extended from Persia to the Indus; the second, from the Indus to the Ganges; while the third comprehended the Ultra-Gangetic countries.* Under the familiar phrase, the East Indies, adopted from the Portuguese, the islands of the Indian archipelago are generally included; and it is singular, that the name of the West Indies, which has led to this distinction, should now designate only a groupe of islands, colonized by Whites, and peopled with Africans. The mistake of Columbus, who at first supposed that he had reached India by a transatlantic course, has been perpetuated, strangely enough, in the misnomer by which the aboriginal population of the Americas, the copper-coloured race, are denominated Indians; that is, Ethiops or blacks. It would be useless, however, to attempt to correct a nomenclature so long established. The word India has fortunately retained a specific meaning, notwithstanding the difficulty of determining its proper geographical extent; and though Hindostan may be deemed, in some respects, the preferable appellation, (as corresponding to Hindoo and Hindostanee, the terms applied to the natives and their vernacular dialect,) the more classical and more convenient name of India seems likely to prevail; more especially as British India is the only convenient designation of our vast and ever-growing territory in those regions. The more popular word has, therefore, been adopted as the title to the present volumes, in

baia (in the peninsula of Gujerat); the kingdom of *Semenath* (Sumenat, near Point Diu); and lastly, that of Kesmacoran, supposed by Major Rennell to be Kej-Mekran: Cutch is possibly intended.

* Marsden's Marco Polo, note 1454. "In the early part of the fifteenth century, we find the definition of India made to comprehend nearly the same portion of the globe as that on which we so vaguely bestow the appellation of the East Indies."

which it will be used as generally synonymous and convertible with Hindostan, but admitting of a somewhat wider latitude.

We are not yet in possession of exact data for determining the superficial extent of this vast region, even were its northern and eastern boundaries better defined.* Mr. Hamilton estimates its extreme length, from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin, at about 1900 miles, and its extreme breadth, from E. to W., at about 1500; but, on account of the irregularity of its figure, the total superficial area cannot, he thinks, be estimated at more than 1,280,000 English square miles. This statement, which has been adopted by M. Malte Brun, assigns 553,000 square miles to the British territory, 550,000 to the territories of British allies and tributaries, and 177,000 to the independent states, as they stood in the year 1820. Within this area is included a population which has been supposed to amount to at least 134 million souls. M. de Humboldt, however, allowing only 109,200 square marine leagues to Hindostan, estimates the total population at only 101 millions, being 925 by the square league. The population of the British empire in India, including that of the allied and tributary powers, which Mr. Hamilton estimates at 123 millions, is rated by M. de Humboldt at only 90 millions; a difference of 43 millions, or nearly a third. It is reasonable to suppose that a mean estimate may approximate to the truth. At present, we can do no better than give the items of these widely discordant calculations, which

* "The extent of Hindoostan *Proper* is about equal to France, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, and the Low Countries collectively; and the Deccan and Peninsula are about equal to the British Islands, Spain, and Turkey in Europe."—RENNELL's *Memoir*, p. xix.

may at least shew the manner in which the population is distributed.

BRITISH INDIA.

Bengal Presidency.	*Square Miles.*	*Population.*
Bengal, Bahar, and Benares	162,000	39,000,000*
Additions in Hindostan, since A.D. 1765.....	148,000	18,000,000
Gurwal, Kumaoon, and the tract between the Sutuleje and the Jumna	18,000	500,000
	328,000	57,500,000
Madras Presidency	154,000	15,000,000
Bombay Presidency.....	11,000	2,500,000
Territories in the Deccan acquired since 1815.....	60,000	8,000,000
	553,000	83,000,000

BRITISH ALLIES AND TRIBUTARIES.

The Nizam.....	96,000	10,000,000
The Nagpoor Rajah.....	70,000	3,000,000
The King of Oude	20,000	3,000,000
The Guicowar	18,000	2,000,000
Kotah, Boondee, and Bopaul	14,000	1,500,000
The Mysore Rajah	27,000	3,000,000†
The Satarah Rajah (or Peishwa)..	14,000	1,500,000
Travancore and Cochin	8,000	1,000,000
Other Rajahs and petty Chiefs	283,000	15,000,000
	550,000	40,000,000

* In 1801-2, the returns made to the Governor-general, with regard to the state of the Bengal Presidency, gave the following results:

	Population.
Calcutta division	9,725,000
Dacca division	5,297,789
Moorshedabad	5,995,340
Patna.....about	7,000,000
Benares	7,654,325
	35,672,454

† In the territories of the Mysore Rajah, in 1804, there were 482,612 families, including 2,171,754 souls. Of these families, 17,000 were Mohammedans; 25,370 Brahmins; 72,627 Lingaits; and 2063 Jains.

INDEPENDENT STATES.

	Square Miles.	*Population.*
The Nepaul Rajah	53,000	2,000,000
The Lahore Rajah	50,000	3,000,000
The Ameers of Sinde	24,000	1,000,000
The Dominions of Sindia	40,000	4,000,000
The King of Caubul	10,000	1,000,000
	177,000	11,000,000
BRITISH INDIA	553,000	83,000,000
ALLIES AND TRIBUTARIES	550,000	40,000,000
INDEPENDENT	177,000	11,000,000
Grand Total	1,280,000	134,000,000*

According to Humboldt †

	Squ. Marine Leagues	*Population.*	*By the Sq. League.*
The three Presidencies, with Provinces newly acquired	49,200	55,500,000	1128
Countries under the protection of the Company	40,900	17,500,000	428
Independent India	19,000	28,000,000	1473
	109,100	101,000,000	925

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. xxxvi.

† Humboldt, Pers. Narr., vol. vi. pp. 337, 8. In these estimates, the population of Ceylon and the Isles is not included. Mr. Wallace gives the following as the nearest approximation to the fact that he could arrive at.

Under the direct government of Great Britain	60,000,000
Under the direct influence of the British Government	40,000,000
Under Independent Chiefs	20,000,000
In the Islands of the Indian Seas	20,000,000
	140,000,000
The population of Orissa is supposed to be about	4,500,000
..... Hyderabad	2,500,000
..... Khandeish	2,000,000
..... Naundere	500,000
..... Berar	2,000,000
	11,500,000

In these provinces, the Mohammedans are as 1 to 10; except in Khandeish, where they are as 1 to 6. In the district of Chittagong,

The following table will exhibit the geographical divisions according to what has appeared to us the most convenient and distinct, if not an unexceptionable arrangement.

I. NORTHERN INDIA.

Ancient Divisions.	*Modern.*	*In possession of*
Saraswati	1. Cashmeer 2. Upper Lahore	Shah of Caubul.
Khasya	3. Dosb of the Sutlej and Jumna 4. Gurwal (or Serinagur) 5. Kumaoon	Bengal Presidency.
	6. Nepaul	Nepaul Rajah.
	7. Bootan	Deb Rajah.

II. INDIA PROPER.

i. *Sindetic.*

Saraswati	1. Punjaub, or Lower Lahore	Seik Rajahs.
	2. Mooltan 3. Sinde	Shah of Caubul.
Gujararashtra	4. Cutch	Bombay Presidency.
	5. Gujerat	Bombay Presidency. The Guikwar. Sindia.

ii. *Central.*

Saraswati & Gujararashtra.	6. Malwah	Sindia, Holkar, Nabob of Bhopaul, Puar Rajah, &c. See vol. iv. p. 237.
	7. Rajpootana	Bengal Presid. Rajpoots.

iii. *Gangetic.*

Canyacubja	8. Delhi	Bengal Presid. Seik Rajah.
	9. Agra	Bengal Presid. Sindia, &c.
	10. Oude	King of Oude.
	11. Allahabad	Beng. Pres. Bundela chiefs.
Tishootiya Magadha Gaura	12. Bahar 13. Bengal	Bengal Presidency.

containing 2987 square miles, the population is estimated at 1,200,000, in which there are 3 Mohammedans to 5 Hindoos. Assam, which may now be regarded as a British possession, contained, in 1801, a population of about 500,000 souls, scattered over 60,000 square miles.

III. THE DECCAN OR SOUTHERN INDIA.

- Utcala
  - 1. Orissa
    - (1) Orissa Proper
    - (2) Kuttak
    - ....Bengal Presid. Nagpoor Rajah.
  - 2. Northern Circars
    - (1) Ganjam
    - (2) Vizagapatam
    - (3) Rajamundry
    - (4) Masulipatam
    - (5) Guntoor.
    - ....Madras Presidency.
- Maharashtra
  - 3. Gondwarra .....Nagpoor Raj. Beng. Pres.
  - 4. Berar.....Nagpoor Rajah. Nizam.
  - 5. Beeder
  - 6. Naundeer
  - 7. Hyderabad
  - .....The Nizam.
  - 8. Kandeish.....Bombay Presid. Holkar.
  - 9. Aurungabad .....Bombay Presid. Nizam.
  - 10. Bejapoor (or Visiapoor) ....Bombay Presid. Sattarah and Kolapoor Rajahs.

IV. THE PENINSULA, OR INDIA S. OF THE KRISHNA.

- Karnata
  - 1. Balaghaut (or Karnata).Madras Presidency.
  - 2. Mysore.....Mysore Rajah, and ditto.
  - 3. Coimbetoor
  - 4. Salem (including Barramahal)
  - ....Madras Presidency.
- Dravira
  - 5. Canara
  - 6. Malabar
  - ....Madras Presidency.
  - 7. Cochin .....Cochin Rajah.
  - 8. Travancore .....Travancore Rajah.
  - 9. The Carnatic
- Telingana
  - (1) Northern, or Andra
  - (2) Central, or Arcot
  - (3) Southern, or Tanjore (including Dindigul and Tinnevelly)
  - ....Madras Presidency.

The principal geological features of this extensive region are, the stupendous Himalayan range, the snowy mountains which divide India from Tibet; the vast Gangetic plain; the great sandy desert of the Indus; the Solimaun range which bounds the basin of the Indus on the west; the elevated table-land above the Ghauts; the Vindhyan mountains, which enclose the valley of the Nerbuddah; and the various groupes which bear the name of the eastern, western, and

southern Ghauts; the latter, the Malayala range, terminating at Cape Comorin. The composition and character of these different systems of mountains and rivers, will be more particularly described in our topographical view of the respective grand divisions of the country.

With the exception of Cape Comorin at its southern extremity, and Diu Head, the southern point of Gujerat, India has no great promontories; and the only bendings of the coast which merit the name of gulfs, are the bay of Cutch and that of Cambay, which give a peninsular form to the province of Gujerat. The western coast of the Deccan, although indented by numerous creeks, roadsteads, and mouths of rivers, has, on the whole, one uniform direction. From Cape Comorin to the coast of Bengal, there is not a single natural harbour, and the roads are encumbered with sand-banks. Merchant vessels are obliged to ride at a distance of a mile and a half from shore, and ships of war at two miles. So gradual is the declivity of the bottom, that the depth, at twenty miles from land, does not exceed fifty fathoms. There are few sea-coasts, of such extent, so destitute of islands. Exclusive of emerged sand-banks and mere rocks, Ceylon may be said to be the only one. The Laccadives (*Laksha-dwipa*, or hundred-thousand isles) and Maldives (*Malaya-dwipa*, Malay islands) run in a chain, about 75 miles off the Malabar-coast, from lat. 12° to the line: they are, for the most part, unproductive and of little value, and many of them are barren rocks.

THE INDUS.

"THE glory of Hindoostan," it has been remarked, consists in its noble rivers; and in this respect, the

country presents a remarkable contrast to Persia, the neighbouring kingdom on the west; but the Indo-Chinese countries (or what has been improperly called the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula) are still more highly favoured. The Indus, the first river, beginning from the west, is one of the largest in the world. It is supposed to have its source, in the northern declivity of the Cailas branch of the Himalaya mountains, about lat. 31° 30′ N., and long. 80° 30′ E., within a few miles of the sources of the Sutlej. After flowing for 400 miles in a N.N.W. direction, it bends towards the S.W., and at Draus, in Little Tibet (in lat. 35° 55′, long. 76° 48′), receives a large branch called the Lahdauk river. It then pursues its solitary course for above 200 miles, through a rugged and mountainous country, to Mullay, where it receives the Abasseen; after which, penetrating the highest range of the Hindoo Coosh mountains, it passes for fifty miles through the lower parallel ranges, to Torbaila, where it enters the valley of Chuch, spreading and forming innumerable islands. About forty miles lower down, near the fort of Attok, in lat. 33° 15′, it receives the Caubul river from the west;* and soon after rushes

* "I give that name," (the Caubul river,) says Mr. Elphinstone, "in conformity to former usage, to a river formed by different streams uniting to the east of Caubul. Two of the most considerable come from Hindoo Coosh, through Ghorebund and Punjsheer, and derive their names from those districts. They join to the N.E. of Caubul, and pursue a south-easterly course till they reach Baureekaub. A stream little inferior to those just mentioned, comes from the west of Ghuznee, and is joined, to the E. of Caubul, by a rivulet which rises in the Paropamisan mountains, in the hill called *Cohee Baba*. This rivulet alone passes through Caubul, and may be said to have given its name to the whole river. All the streams I have mentioned, unite at Baureekaub, and form the river of Caubul, which flows rapidly to the East, increased by all the brooks from the hills on each side. It receives the river of

through a narrow opening into the midst of the branches of the Solimaun chain of mountains. Its stream is here exceedingly turbulent. Even when the water is lowest, the conflux of these rivers is attended by waves and eddies, with a sound like the sea. But when they are swelled by the melting of the snows, a tremendous whirlpool is created, the noise of which is heard at a great distance. Here, boats are frequently swallowed up or dashed to pieces against the rocks, which superstition has invested with legendary terrors.

At the town of Attok, (where properly it may be said to enter India,) the Indus, after having been widely spread over a plain, is contracted to the breadth of about 300 yards, becoming proportionally deep and rapid. When its floods are highest, it rises to the top of a bastion about 37 feet in height. It becomes still narrower where it enters the hills; and at Neelaub, fifteen miles below Attok, it is said to be not more than a stone's throw across, but extremely rapid. From Neelaub, it winds among bare hills to Karabaugh (incorrectly written Calabag), in lat. 33° 7′ 39″, passing through the Salt range in a deep, clear, and tranquil stream, and thence pursuing a southerly course towards the ocean without any further interruption or confinement from hills. It enters the rich valley of the *Esa-khels* in four great channels, which repeatedly

Kaushkaur" (Kashgar river) " at Kaumeh, near Jellalabad," (whence it is sometimes called the Kama,) " and thence runs east, breaks through the inner branches of Hindoo Coosh, and forms numerous rapids and whirlpools. After entering the plain of Peshawer, the Caubul river loses a good deal of its violence, but is still rapid. It breaks into different branches, which join again after they have received a river formed by two streams which come from the valleys of Punjcora and Swaut; and having now collected all its waters, it enters the Indus a little above Attok. The Caubul river is very inferior to the Indus, being fordable in many places in the dry weather."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, vol. i. pp. 183—5.

meet and again separate, but are seldom found united in one stream. At Kaheeree Ghaut, in lat. 31° 28′, the main channel, when at the lowest (in January), is only about 1000 yards in breadth and twelve feet in depth; but several large branches run parallel to it. The bed of the river here is sand, with a small quantity of mud. The flat country and the islands, which are overflowed in the hot season, are an exceedingly rich black alluvial soil, well cultivated in many places, and in others overgrown with high jungle.

Below Attok, the Indus receives no stream deserving the name of a river, from the west, till it is joined, at Kaggulwalla, by the Kourum, from the Solimaun mountains. The only considerable tributary south of this, is the Gomul, the waters of which, being exhausted by irrigation in the northern part of Damaun, never reach the Indus except when swelled by rains. Two smaller streams, the Choudwa and the Wukwa, then also pay their tribute to this majestic river.

On the eastern side, the Indus is joined, at Mittandakote, by the five rivers of the Punjaub, united in one immense stream called the Punjnood. For seventy miles above this junction, the two streams run nearly parallel; and at Ooch, which is fifty miles up, the distance between them is not more than ten miles. In July and August, the whole of the intermediate country is under water; and the villages, with few exceptions, are only temporary erections. The whole of the country to Hyderabad, the capital of Sinde, is of a similar description. On the left bank are some considerable towns and numerous villages, with canals of irrigation leading to them from the river. In this part of its course, the Indus frequently eats away its banks, and gradually shifts its course. Although it divides into several channels as it approaches the sea,

it does not form a delta, like the Nile or the Irrawaddy; the lateral streams being absorbed by the sand before they can reach the ocean. An easterly branch called the *Fullalee*, rejoins the main stream, forming the island of Hyderabad. Below this point, the breadth of the Indus is generally about a mile, varying in depth from two to five fathoms, and it at length reaches the sea by one mouth. The tides are not perceptible higher up than sixty or sixty-five miles; but, from the sea to Lahore, a distance of 760 geographical miles, the Indus (as well as its tributary, the Ravee) is navigable for vessels of 200 tons.* Near its mouth, the land does not possess the fertility of the Gangetic delta, consisting only of tracts of underwood or jungle, arid sands, putrid salt swamps, or shallow muddy lakes.†

The Indus is called in Sanscrit, the *Sindhu* or *Sindhus*, and by the Persians, the *Aub Sinde*. From Attok to Moultan, it bears the name of the Attok (limit); and further down, that of Shoor; but it is generally known to Asiatics by the name of the Sinde.‡ Four rivers in India were formerly subject

* In the time of Aurungzebe, an extensive trade was carried on by this means: the passage from Lahore occupied only 12 days. "Had Feroze's canal been completed," remarks Mr. Rennell, "there would have been a continued inland navigation from Tatta to Bengal and Assam."

† Elphinstone's Caubul, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 174—186; vol. ii. pp. 469—472. Malte Brun, vol. iii. pp. 13—16. Hamilton's Gazetteer.

‡ The name Sinde was not unknown to the Romans: "*Indus incolis Sindus appellatus.*"—Pliny, b. vi. Another name by which it was formerly known, is the *Nilab* (*Neelaub*), or Blue River, which is, perhaps, only an Arabic translation of the Persian or Sanscrit word. The name of Nilab appears to have been given also to the Caubul river; for a native author says, that Jalalabad and Dakkah are situated on the Nilab. The Caubul river has, in like manner, been sometimes called the Attok; and the ancients appear to have regarded that branch as the true Indus. Pliny

each to a peculiar interdict, religiously observed by the natives. It was forbidden even to touch the waters of the Caramnassa, which divides Bahar from Benares; to bathe in the Caratoya, a river in Bengal; to swim in the Gunduk; and to cross the Attok. The latter prohibition is evaded, however, by crossing the Indus above its confluence with the Caubul; and the Brahmins of Affghanistan cross it daily without any scruple. Notwithstanding its magnitude and importance, as well as ancient celebrity, the Indus has never obtained such reputation for sanctity in India, as many inferior streams.

The five tributary rivers which give name to the Punjaub, are equal to the largest rivers in Europe. The first, beginning from the west, and the second in size, is the Jelum, Behut, or Vidusta, the ancient *Hydaspes*. It takes its rise in the south-eastern corner of the valley of Cashmere, where it is called the Vidusta. It passes through two lakes east and west of the capital. Twelve miles below, it is joined by the Little Sind, and further on, by several small rivulets as it runs among the hills. After flowing nearly west, it receives, near Moozufferad, the Kishungunga stream from the northward, and forms a great curve to the south, through a mountainous district, of which little is known. At length, after a course of about 450 miles, it joins the Chunaub, in which it loses its name, at Tremmoo Ghaut, 80 miles above Mooltan.*

says: "*In jugo Caucasi montis quod vocatur Paropamisus, adversus solis ortum effusus.*" It is, however, clear, Major Rennell remarks, that the people of Hindostan consider the north-eastern branch as the true Sinde.—RENNELL, pp. 94—6.

* The greatest breadth of the *doab* between the Jelum and the Indus, is from Attok to Jellalpore Ghaut on the Jelum, a distance of 114 miles. The northern part of this *doab*, above the parallel

The Chunaub, or *Acesines*, the second river of the five, and the largest in size, rises in the Alpine district of Kishtewar in the Himalaya mountains, near the south-eastern corner of Cashmere. Due N. from the city of Lahore, this river is 300 yards wide in the dry season, and nearly a mile and a half when swelled by the rains. Like the Jelum, it is not fordable, but a small part only of its channel requires to be swum over. Its junction with that river is attended with great noise; a circumstance noticed by the historians both of Alexander and of Timour. Its banks are low and well-wooded.*

Fifty miles below this junction, and about 40 miles above the city of Moultan, the Chunaub receives the waters of the Rauvee (*Iravati*) or *Hydraotes*. This is the smallest of the five rivers, but its length is considerable. It issues from the mountainous district of Upper Lahore,† and flowing S.W., enters the plains near Shahpoor (or Rajepoor); whence the great canal of Shah Nehr (now filled up) accompanied it to Lahore, a distance of 80 miles. The intent of this canal was, by keeping the water at a higher level, to supply that city in the dry season, when, like most of the Indian rivers, the Rauvee is from 20 to 30 feet below its banks. The city of Lahore stands

of 33°, is hilly; and to the southward is a desert, with the exception of a few miles inward from the banks of the rivers.—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 478.

* The space between the Chunaub and the Behut, according to Major Rennell, is nowhere more than 30 geo. miles within the limits of the Punjaub. Lieut. Macartney, however, makes the horizontal distance from Jellalpoor Ghaut to Vizeerabad Ghaut, 44 miles. The country is excessively low, the soil rich, chiefly pasture.—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 479.

† Mr. Rennell says: "its sources are in the mountains near Nagorkote, a famous place of Hindoo worship." They do not appear to have been explored,

on the southern bank. Three other canals, for the purpose of watering the country on the S. and E. of Lahore, were drawn from the same place. This river is fordable in the dry season, being then only 4 feet deep, and its channel is very narrow; but it has a very muddy bottom, and is full of quicksands. Its banks are low and well wooded. There are few boats on this river, whereas they are numerous on the Jelum and Chunaub.*

The Chunaub, after receiving the Rauvee, still retains its name, till, nearly 100 miles below Moultan, it is joined by the united waters of the Beyah and the Sutlej, under the name of the Gharrah, Kerah, or Gavra. The Beyah (Vipasa or Beypasha), the ancient *Hyphasis*, rises in the mountains of Keeloo in the *pergunnah* of Sultanpoor. For the first 200 miles, its course is due south; it then bends to the westward, and after a course of about 350 miles, joins the Sutlej about midway between its source and the Indus, not far from Feroozpoor. It appears, however, that it formerly fell into the Sutlej much below the place where they now meet, there being still a small canal, called the old bed of the Beyah.†

* "The space between the Rauvee and the Chunaub, at their entrance into the plains, is about 54 geo. miles; and they gradually approach each other during a course of 170 miles. The junction is effected nearly midway between Toolumba and Moultan."—RENNELL. Lieut. Macartney says: "The distance from Vizeerabad Ghaut (on the Chunaub) to Meannee Ghaut on the Ravee, is 55 miles. The *doab* is rich and flat, but higher land than the last, and the soil not so very rich."—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 480.

† Hamilton's Gazetteer. Rennell, p. 102. Lieut. Macartney gives a very different account of this river. "The Beyas and the Sutluj," he says, "are nearly the same size, but the Beyas is rather the largest. Their course too is nearly the same from the snowy ridge; 150 miles to their junction, and 260 more to their junction with the Chunaub." This river measured, at Bhirowal

The Sutlej (Sutuleje, Shetooder, or Satadru), the *Zaradrus* or *Hesudrus* of the ancients, has its source in the Himalaya mountains, whence it flows, first almost due west, and then in a southerly direction, bounding the province of Lahore on the east. At Bellaspoor, where it enters Hindostan Proper, it is 100 yards broad when at the lowest. After its junction with the Beyah or Beyas, it loses its name, first in that of the confluent river, and afterwards, the united streams are called Ghara or Ghavrah; although, according to some accounts, the river again divides and resumes its former names.* M. Malte Brun con-

Ghaut, 740 yards. Its right bank is very high, and its current very rapid. It is fordable in the dry season, but its channel then contains many sand-beds, islands, and quicksands.

* See Hamilton's Gazetteer. Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 481. Authorities are more especially at variance with regard to this fifth river, which appears under so many names. Ptolemy names the last river of the Punjaub, the *Zaradrus*; Pliny, the *Hesudrus*. Arrian says: "These rivers discharge their waters into the Indus; the *Hydraotes* (Rauvee) among the *Cambistholi*, which, receiving the *Hyphasis* (Beyah) among the *Astrobi*, the *Saranges* among the *Mecei*, and the *Neudrus* among the *Attaceni*, falls into the *Acesines* (Chunsub). The *Hydaspes* (Jelum), receiving the river *Sinarus* among the *Arispi*, falls also into the river *Acesines*, in the country of the *Oxydracæ*. *Tutapus*, a great river, falls into the same; insomuch that the *Acesines*, vastly increased with all these, and still retaining its name, loses that and its waters at once, by falling into the Indus among the *Malli*."—Rooke's *Arrian*, vol. ii. p. 192. Mr. Rennell seems to think that the Saranges may be intended for the Zaradrus; but we are inclined to think that the Sutlej must be referred to under the name of the *Tutapus*. "Before it is joined by the Beyah," Mr. Rennell says, "it is a very considerable river, and is navigable more than 100 miles. About 24 miles below the conflux, a separation again takes place, and four different streams are formed, the northmost and most considerable of which recovers the name of Beyah, and is a deep and rapid river. The others are named Herari, (*Sinarus?*) Dond, and Noorney; and near Moultan they unite again, and bear the name of the Setlege, until both the substance and name are lost in the Indus, about 80 miles below the mouth of the Chunsub. It is owing to the sepa-

siders the Sutlej as the largest river within the Himalaya range, between the Indus and the Brahmapootra. From its origin to its junction with the Beyah, it runs about 500 miles; and the united streams flow for more than 300 miles, before they contribute to form the Punjnud. The union of all the five rivers into one, before they reach the Indus, was a point in geography maintained by Ptolemy; but, owing to the obscurity of modern accounts, promoted by the splittings of the Indus, and the frequent approximation of streams running in parallel courses, the accuracy of his information had been called in question. Recent and minute inquiries, however, are now supposed to have re-established this disputed point, and with it, the credit of the ancient geographer.*

THE GANGES.

THE Ganges, although not the largest, is the most highly venerated, as well as the most useful of all the Indian rivers. Its sources are found within the recesses of the Himalaya mountains, where so many mighty rivers have their origin. Among those which claim attention from their magnitude, are, the Sutlej, the Pabur, the Jumna, the Billung, the Girree, the Touse, the Caligunga, the Bhagiruttee, and the Alaknunda. It is the latter three which, by their union, form the mighty Ganga. The Pabur and Touse unite, and, with the Girree, fall into the Jumna. The Alaknunda (or Alacananda) has its rise in a snowy mountain close to the celebrated Hindoo temple of Buddrinaath, in the province of

ration that takes place after the first confluence of the Beyah and Setlege, I apprehend, that so many names are given to the latter by modern as well as ancient authors."—RENNELL, p. 102.

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 18.

Serinagur. A very short distance to the north of that place, the breadth of its stream does not exceed 18 or 20 feet; it is shallow and moderately rapid. Further up, the stream is concealed under the accumulated masses of snow; and beyond this point, no traveller has ventured, or been able to penetrate. It flows in a direction nearly S.W. to Rooderpràg, where it forms a junction with the Caligunga. The latter, rising at Kedarnauth, another celebrated temple in the Kedar snowy mountain, runs nearly S.S.W. to Rooderpràg. From this point, the Alaknunda holds a more westerly course to Deopràg, where it is joined by the Bhagiruttee.

The course of the Bhagiruttee, the reputed Ganges, has been traced by Mr. Fraser to the place called Gungotree or Gangoutri, one of the holiest shrines of Hindoo worship within these mountains. Here, however, the stream is already "large and rapid," although "not greater, perhaps," Mr. Fraser thinks, "than may be accounted for by the large mass of snow that supplies it." It appears to be formed by a collection of the numerous torrents that run from the melted snow, uniting in a deep ravine formed by their violence. The actual source is concealed by the sharp peaks which close upon the inaccessible glen or ravine through which the river rushes down, so that its fountains have never been seen. Admitting, indeed, that the *Roodroo Himala* contains the most elevated source of the Ganges, it may not be the most distant. A gun-shot below Gungotree, the Kedar-Gunga, a rapid and considerable stream, joins the Bhagiruttee; and lower down, the J'hannevie, a river of a size fully equal, joins it from the north-east. This river is said to have its origin in a very lofty mountain, called *Ree-kee-goor-stan*, fifteen days' jour-

ney north-eastward in the Chinese territory; and, notwithstanding the preference given by superstition to Gungotree and the Bhagiruttee, the real origin of the Ganges remains to be sought for in a more remote and less consecrated region.*

The Bhagiruttee flows at first for several miles, nearly from E. to W.; then to S.W., and afterwards to S.S.E. At Deopràg, where it is joined by the Alaknunda, it takes the name of the Gunga or Ganges. It enters the plains of Hindostan at Hurdwar,† in the province of Delhi, in lat. 29° 57′, long. 78° 2′. Its course is nearly straight to its conflux with the Jumna at Allahabad, in lat. 25° 27′, long. 81° 50′; and its bed is from a mile to a mile and a quarter in width. Below this junction it becomes more winding, and flows in a deeper and broader channel. After receiving the Goggrah, the Sona, and the Gunduk, besides many smaller streams, it attains its utmost breadth; and, where no islands intervene, is, in some places, three miles wide. It afterwards narrows to half a mile. When at the lowest, the principal channel varies from 400 yards to a mile and a quarter in width, but is generally about three fourths of a mile across. It is fordable in some parts above its conflux with the Jumna, but the boat navigation is never interrupted; and at 500 miles from the sea to its mouth, the channel is thirty feet deep, when the river is lowest.

About 200 miles from the sea (300 by the windings

* See Fraser's Himala mountains, pp. 464—74. This Writer questions whether the *moonshee* sent to explore Gungotree by Messrs. Webb and Raper in 1808, really reached the spot. The J'hannevie is, perhaps, the Jahni Ganga. The Dauli or Sati, which joins the Alaknunda at Vishnuprayaga, has also a more remote source.

† Properly *Hari-dwara*, the Gate of Hari or Vishnoo. It is also called *Ganga-dwara*.

of the river) commences the Gangetic delta. The two westernmost branches, the Cossimbazar and Jellinghy rivers, unite and form what is called the Hooghly; the only branch that is commonly navigated by ships, forming the port of Calcutta. The Cossimbazar river is almost dry from October to May, and the Jellinghy is, in some years, scarcely navigable during the driest months; so that the only subordinate branch that is at all times navigable by boats, is the Chanduah river, which separates at Moddapoor, and terminates in the Hooringotta river. The easternmost branch of the Ganges is joined by the mighty Brahmapootra below Luckipoor, where these rivers have formed a gulf interspersed with mud islands. The delta, which has nearly 200 miles of coast, consists of a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, all of which are salt, except those which communicate immediately with the principal arm of the Ganges. This dreary tract of country bears the name of the Sunderbunds.* The navigation through these intricate passages or natural canals, is effected chiefly by means of the tides, and extends more than 200 miles through the thick forest that covers the numberless islands formed by the different channels. These are so various in point of width, that a vessel has at one time her masts entangled among the trees, and, at another time, sails on a broad river skirted with woods. There are two distinct passages; the southern or Sunderbund passage,

* From *Sanderi-vana*, a wood of Sundery-trees. Some derive it from *Soonder*, beautiful, and *bon*, forest; while others again contend, that the proper name is Shunderbund, the tract being comprehended in the ancient zemindary of Shunderdeep. In 1784, the Sunderbunds, together with Cooch Bahar and Rangamutty, all nearly waste, contained, according to Major Rennell, 37,549 square miles. The Sunderbunds are equal in extent to the principality of Wales.—RENNELL, p. 339. HAMILTON'S Gaz.

and the Balliaghaut passage. The former is the longest, but leads through the widest and deepest channels, and opens into the Hooghly or Calcutta river. The latter opens into a lake on the eastern side of the city. The whole forest of the Sunderbunds is abandoned to the wild beasts, except that here and there may be seen a solitary fakeer. During the dry season, the lower shores are visited by the salt-makers and wood-cutters, who exercise their trade at the constant peril of their lives; for tigers of the most enormous size not only appear on the margin, but frequently swim off to the boats that lie at anchor in the rivers. The waters also swarm with alligators.*

The mean rate of motion of the Ganges is less than three miles an hour in the dry months. In the wet season, and while the waters are draining off from the inundated lands, the current runs from five to six miles, and in particular situations, even eight miles an hour. The descent of the river, taking its windings into calculation, is estimated by Mr. Rennell at less than four inches *per* mile.† Owing to the looseness of the soil composing its banks, the Ganges has, in the lapse of years, considerably shifted its course. In tracing the coast of the delta, there are no fewer than eight openings, each of which appears to have

* The existence of this forest has always been considered as of political importance, as it presents a strong natural barrier along the southern frontier of Bengal. Nor is it practicable to bring into culture these salt marshy lands, which are for the most part overflowed by the tide. Excellent salt, in quantities equal to the whole consumption of Bengal and its dependencies, is here made, and transported with equal facility; and the woods present an inexhaustible supply of timber for boat-building and other purposes.

† An instance is mentioned, as coming within Major Rennell's own knowledge, of a boat that was carried fifty-six miles in eight hours, against a wind so strong as to prevent any progressive motion independent of the current. See RENNELL'S *Memoir*, p. 340.

been, in its turn, the principal mouth; and the size of the delta itself has probably undergone, in the course of ages, material changes from the action of the waters, and the deposites left by the periodical floods.*

It is thought that the Ganges is but little swelled by the melting of the snows, the waters derived from this source being not more than sufficient to balance the waste by evaporation; but it evidently owes its periodical rise in part to the rains which fall in the mountains. The sum total of its rise is 32 feet, out of which it rises 15½ feet by the latter end of June;

* "During eleven years of my residence in Bengal, the outlet or head of the Jellinghy river was gradually removed three quarters of a mile further down; and by two surveys of an adjacent bank of the Ganges, taken about the distance of nine years from each other, it appeared that the breadth of an English mile and a half had been taken away....The windings of the Ganges in the plains, are doubtless owing to the looseness of the soil: the proof of it is, that they are perpetually changing....There are not wanting instances of a total change of course in some of the Bengal rivers. The Mootyjyl lake is one of the windings of a former channel of the Cossimbazar river. The Cosa river (equal to the Rhine) once ran by Purneah, and joined the Ganges opposite Rajemal: its junction is now 45 miles further up. Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, stood on the old bank of the Ganges, although its ruins are four or five miles from the present bank. Appearances favour very strongly the opinion, that the Ganges had its former bed in the tract now occupied by the lakes and morasses between Nattore and Jaffiergungee; striking out of its present course at Bauleah, and passing by Pootyah. With an equal degree of probability, favoured by tradition, we may trace its supposed course by Dacca, to a junction with the Burrampooter (or Megna) near Fringybazar, where the accumulation of two such mighty streams probably scooped out the present amazing bed of the Megna."—RENNELL, pp. 343—6. These remarks may throw some light on the perplexed hydrography of the Punjaub. The quantity of land that has been destroyed by the Ganges in the course of a few years, between Colgong and Sooty, is estimated at 25,000 acres, or forty square miles. But the opposite shore has gained, and the *new* island of Sundeep contains above ten square miles.

and the rainy season does not begin in most of the flat countries till about that time. In the mountains, the rains begin early in April; and by the end of that month, when the rain water has reached Bengal, the rivers begin very slowly to rise; at the rate, for the first fortnight, of an inch *per* day. This gradually augments to two or three inches, as the rain begins to reach the plains; and when it has become general, the mean increase is five inches *per* day. By the latter end of July, all the lower parts of Bengal contiguous to the Ganges and Brahmapootra, are overflowed, the inundation spreading more than 100 miles in breadth. Throughout this extent, nothing is seen but villages and trees, with here and there the top of an artificial mound, the site of some abandoned village.

Owing to the great quantity of rain that falls in Bengal, the lands are, in general, overflowed to a considerable height, long before the bed of the river is filled, the ground adjacent to its banks, to the extent of some miles, being higher than the rest of the country.* There are particular tracts guarded from inundation by dikes, which are kept up at an enormous expense, but are not always effectual: these are cal-

* This is doubtless owing, as Buffon suggested, to the deposite left by the waters, which must be less in proportion to the distance from the margin of the river. The same circumstance has been remarked in the valley of the Nile. (See Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. p. 42.) "Even when the inundation becomes general," Mr. Rennell says, "the river still shews itself, as well by the grass and reeds on its banks, as by its rapid and muddy stream; for the water of the inundation acquires a blackish hue by having been so long stagnant among grass and other vegetables. Nor does it ever lose this tint, which is a proof of the predominancy of the rain water over that of the river, as the slow rate of the motion of the inundation (which does not exceed half a mile *per* hour) is of the remarkable flatness of the country."—RENNELL, pp. 349, 50.

culated to extend in length, collectively, upwards of 1000 miles. By the end of July, the rate of increase has reached its *maximum*. In the first eight or ten days of August, it declines to four inches increase *per* day. During the second week in that month, the inundation in Bengal is nearly at a stand; and after the 15th, although great quantities of rain continue to fall throughout September, the waters begin to run off at the rate of from three to four inches, which gradually lessens, during November, to one inch; and from November to the end of April, the mean daily decrease is only half an inch.

During the swoln state of the river, the tide, except very near the sea, totally loses its effect; but a strong wind blowing up the river for any continuance, will raise the waters two feet above their ordinary level, and the consequences are sometimes very disastrous.* The Ganges rises in a more considerable degree in the lower part of its course, than the northern rivers which communicate with it; the Burrampooter only excepted. Thus, during the dry season, the waters of the Teesta (which for about 150 miles has a course nearly parallel) flow into the Ganges by two distinct channels, while, by a third, it discharges part of its waters into the Burrampooter. But during the inundation, the Ganges runs into the Teesta, whose only outlet is into the Megna. From about the place where the tide

* In ordinary seasons, the growth of the rice keeps pace with the rise of the waters, but it is destroyed by a too sudden rise. The harvest is often reaped in boats, as in some parts of South America.—See MOD. TRAV., *Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 127, *note*. In 1763, in consequence of a strong gale conspiring with a high spring tide, at a season when the flood was within a foot and a half of its highest pitch, the waters rose six feet at Luckipoor, and the inhabitants of a considerable district were, with their houses and cattle, totally swept away,—RENNELL, p. 351.

commences, to the sea, the height of the inundation gradually diminishes, till, at the point of confluence, it disappears.* Similar circumstances take place in the Burrampooter, the Meinam, and other rivers;† of which, Major Rennell suggests, the obvious explanation may be found in the known laws of fluids. The quantity of water discharged into the ocean by the Ganges, is computed by Mr. Rennell to be greater than that of any other river in the world; the mean quantity throughout the year being nearly 180,000 cubic feet in a second. The quantity of sand and soil held in suspension by its waters, is so great, that, in the year 1794, one of the mouths of the Bhagiruttee, at Sadigunge, full five miles in length, was, in the course of a week, filled up very nearly to a level with the contiguous country, although it must have contained about 900,000,000 solid feet. In the neighbourhood of Colgong, where the depth of the river is, in many places, upwards of 70 feet, *new* islands have risen to more than 20 feet above the level of the stream. ‡

The proper name of the Ganges, in the language of Hindostan, is said to be *Pudda*, which has been given to it as flowing *ex pede Vistnou*, from Vishnou's foot.§ But, in the Hindoo mythology, Gunga is a goddess, the daughter of Mount Himavut; and she is the object of worship with all castes. An annual festival is held in commemoration of her descent to the earth; offerings are then made to the river, and clay images of Gunga are set up in the temples, which are after-

* At Luckipoor, there is a difference of about six feet in the height of the river at different seasons; at Dacca, 14 feet; at Custee (240 miles from the sea by the river), 31 feet.

† See Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 7.

‡ Rennell, pp. 335—55. Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 11.

§ Or, as some of the *pooranus* declare, *ex sudore pedis*.

wards thrown into the Ganges. The waters are held to have an expiatory efficacy; and in so great reverence is this river held by the Hindoos, that in the British courts of justice throughout Bengal, witnesses are made to swear upon water from the Ganges, in the same manner as Christians are sworn upon the Gospels, and Mohammedans upon the Koran.* It is only that part of the river which lies in a line from Gangoutri to Sagor Island, that is deemed particularly sacred, and that is called the Gunga or Bhagiruttee. The great branch that runs eastward to join the Burrampooter, is not esteemed equally sacred; and it is to this that the name Pudda, Padma, or Padmawati, is generally restricted. The most sacred places are the *prayags* or junctions: of these, that of the Ganges and the Jumna, at Allahabad, termed simply *Prayag*, is deemed the principal. Hurdwar, where the river first escapes from the mountains, and Sagor Island, at the mouth of the Hooghly, are also sacred places.

From Hurdwar to the sea, the Ganges forms a navigable stream 1350 miles in length, receiving, in its course, eleven rivers, some of which are equal to the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames,† be-

* Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. 273. Many respectable Hindoos object, however, to this ordeal.

† The principal of these are: 1. The Jumna, which, after a course of 780 miles, joins it on its right bank at Allahabad. 2. The Soane or Sona, which rises in Gundwana, and falls into the Ganges a little above Patna. 3. It next receives, on its left, the Ramgunga from Kemaoon. 4. The Goomty (*Gomati*, winding), rising in the same hills, crosses the province of Oude from N.W. to S.E., passing Luknow, and falls into the Ganges below Benares. 5. The Goggrah (*Ghaghara*), one of its longest tributaries, separates Kemaoon from the Goorkha territory; at Swarga-dwara, joins the Sareyu or Sarjeu; and flowing through Oude, joins the Ganges in Bahar, under the name of Devar iver. 6. The Gunduk (called, in its higher parts, Salgrami), rises in the Himalaya, and after a course

sides other streams of inferior note. In a military view, Major Rennell remarks, this river opens a communication between the different posts, which supersedes the necessity of forming magazines; thus answering the purpose of a military way through the country, better than the roads of the Romans, and far surpassing the boasted inland navigation of North America, "where the carrying-places not merely obstruct the progress of an army, but enable the enemy to determine the place and mode of attack." So admirably are the natural canals formed by these rivers distributed over the flat country, that there is hardly any part of Bengal above twenty-five miles from a navigable river, even in the dry season. The wood, salt, and provisions of ten millions of people are thus easily conveyed by water. Add to this, the transport of the commercial imports and exports, to the amount of 2,000,000*l.* sterling *per annum*, the interchange of manufactures and products throughout the country, the fisheries and travelling; and some idea may be formed of the extent and importance of this inland navigation, which gives constant employment to not far short of 300,000 boatmen, the most laborious and hardy race in India.*

of 450 miles, joins the Ganges opposite to Patna. 7. The Cosa (or Cusi) rises in Nepaul, near Catmandoo, and flowing S.S.E., after a winding course of about 400 miles, joins the Ganges in the district of Purneah in Bengal. 8. The Teesta (*Tishta*, standing still), called in Nepaul the Yo Sanpoo, enters Bengal in the district of Rungpoor, and joins the Ganges after a course of about 400 miles. Besides these may be mentioned, 9. The Chumbul, or Sumbul, which has its source in Malwah, and flowing N.E., separates the British possessions in Hindostan Proper from those of Sindia on the south: after a course of 440 miles, it unites with the Jumna, 20 miles below Etaweh in Agra.

* Major Rennell, forty years ago, estimated them at 30,000. "According to the Ayeen Akbaree," Mr. Tennant remarks, "the

THE BRAHMAPOOTRA.

THE Brahmapootra (commonly called and written Burrampooter), though larger than the Ganges, affords less assistance to commerce: during a great part of its course, it travels eastward through rugged and solitary defiles, seldom approaching the habitations of men. It is also among the least sacred of the rivers of India; although it has been deified, and at a place three days' journey from Dacca, multitudes annually assemble to propitiate it by sacrifice, on the day that it usually begins to rise.* Its sources have never yet been explored, but are believed to be situated on the northern declivity of Himalaya, near Lake Manasarovara in Tibet; not far from those of the Indus, the Sutlej, and perhaps the Ganges.† It takes, however,

contribution to government must have exceeded this number, since it declares that 4000 boats were furnished by Bengal alone, and ten *dandies* to each boat is no extravagant allowance····Yet, the trade carried on in this mighty stream, though it passes through the finest country, perhaps, in the world, appears trifling when compared to that of China. The Embassy found 100,000 marines on a single branch of the river Pei-ho."—TENNANT'S *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 51. Mr. Hamilton, however, thinks that some mistake must have occurred in the Major's calculation, "as they are certainly much nearer ten times that number."—Vol. i. p. 36.

* Ward, vol. i. p. 279.

† D'Anville, for want of better information than was in his time accessible, supposed the Sanpoo (or Tsan-poo) to be the same as the Ava river, which is now believed to be the *Nu-kiang* of Yun-nan. (Rennell, p. 296.) Recent accounts, however, render it not improbable that the sources of the two rivers are not very widely distant; and they are supposed to communicate by intermediate streams. The Ayeen Akbaree states, that the Burrampooter comes from Khatai; but the Assamese, Major Rennell says, affirmed that *their* river came from the N.W., through the Bootan mountains. The course of the Irrawaddy is known as high as Bamoo, in lat. 24°, long. 96° 56', only twenty miles from the Chinese frontier. To the north of this is the mountainous district of Bong, reaching to Assam on the N., Yun-nan on the E., and Cassay on the W.,

an opposite course, flowing eastward through Tibet, where it is known under the name of *Sanpoo* (the River). It passes near Lassa, the residence of the Grand Lama, and to the north of Teshoo Lomboo, the seat of the Teshoo Lama; receiving various rivers from the south, and probably from the north also. After a long easterly course, it deviates to the S.E., approaching within 220 miles of Yunnan, the westernmost province of China, and seeming to be making its way to the Gulf of Siam. Its course is now unknown to Europeans, but it is supposed to make a vast circuit round the mountains, before, suddenly curving to the south, it descends by a series of cataracts into Assam, where it receives a copious augmentation from the numerous tributaries which flow from the mountains on either side.* Here, it first assumes the name of Burrampooter. In this part of its course, which is nearly due W., it separates into two branches, the southern taking the name of Kolong; but these meet again, after inclosing an island five days' journey in length, and one in breadth. About Goalpara, the frontier town of Bengal, in lat. 26° 8′, long. 90° 32′, the expanse of the river is very grand; but its water is impure and even offensive, owing to the quantity of vegetable matter and other wreck with which it is charged. After entering Bengal, it makes a circuit round the western point of the Garrow moun-

and separating, apparently, the heads of the Birman rivers from the streams which flow into the Assamese valley. Here is supposed to be the source of the Kiayn-duem, (one of the heads of the Irrawaddy,) unless it be a branch from the Brahmapootra.—See MOD. TRAV., *Birmah*, pp. 203, 244, 249, 250. The Nû-kiang will, perhaps, after all, be found to be the Thaluayn or San-luayn; and the identity of the Brahmapootra and the Tsan-poo must still be regarded as problematical.

* See Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 249.

tains, and then runs southward through the Dacca district, where, in about lat. 24° 10′, it is joined by the Megna from Sylhet. This comparatively small river now gives its name to the united stream, which is regularly from four to five miles in width. Eighteen miles S.E. of Dacca, it is joined by the Issamutty, bringing the collected waters of the Dullasery, the Boorigunga, the Luckia, and many smaller rivers: the aggregate forms an expanse of water resembling an inland sea. The course of the Megna is now S.S.E., until, at Luckipoor, it meets the Pudda or eastern branch of the Ganges, and they conjointly roll their muddy waters into the Bay of Bengal. Many islands are formed from the sediment deposited by this vast body of water. Among these are Dukkinshabazpoor, (30 miles in length and 12 in breadth,) Hattia, Sundeep, and Bamony.* The sand and mud-banks extend 30 miles beyond these islands, and rise in many places within a few feet of the surface; so that future generations will probably see them converted into habitable islands. In the channels between the islands and banks, the sudden influx of the tide, called the bore, attains the perpendicular height of 12 feet; but, after the tide is past the islands, no vestige of a bore is seen.

The whole course of the Brahmapootra is supposed to be 1650 miles in length. During its course of 400 miles through Bengal, it bears a close resemblance to the Ganges, except in the magnificent breadth which it attains during the last 60 miles before their junction. In Assam, the inundation commences from the northern rivers, which at length fill the Brahmapootra; and in May, the waters are usually at their height. In Bengal, the same general description

* See note at page 25.

applies to it as to the Ganges. So recently as the year 1765, the Brahmapootra was unknown in Europe as a capital river of India; its junction with the Ganges was not ascertained when D'Anville wrote; and it appears quite uncertain, under what name it was known, if at all, to the nations of ancient Europe.*

The chief rivers of the Deccan are, the Nerbuddah and the Tuptee, flowing west; the Mahanada, the Godavery, and the Krishna, flowing east. The Nerbuddah is one of the largest rivers which have their rise in the interior of India. Its source is very near that of the Soane, in the table-land of Amerkoontuk, in the province of Gundwana, in lat. 22° 53′, long. 82° 15′. While the Soane flows down the eastern declivity, and proceeds in a northerly direction, afterwards bending eastward, to join the Ganges in Bahar, the Nerbuddah takes an opposite course, flowing nearly due west, and with fewer curvatures than most of the Indian rivers. After passing along part of Gundwana, Khandeish, Malwah, and Gujerat, it falls into the Gulf of Cambay, about 25 miles below Baroach (or Barigosha), after a course of about 750 miles. It receives no river of magnitude, and in the dry season is very shallow. The Tuptee (*Tapati*), or Surat river, has its source also in Gundwana, near the village of Batool, and, flowing west, reaches the sea about 20 miles below Surat. Its course is very winding, through a fertile country producing much of the cotton exported from Surat and Bombay; and its length is supposed to be about 460 miles. The mouths of both these rivers are obstructed by bars and shoals. To the south of the Tuptee, the course of all the rivers is to the east, in consequence of the superior elevation of the Western Ghauts. A few rivulets flow into the

* Rennell, pp. 355—9. Hamilton's Gazetteer. Malte Brun, b. 46

western sea, but they descend so abruptly from the mountains, that they have not time to collect into streams of magnitude.

The Mahanada, Mahanuddy, or Kuttak, rising in the mountains of Bundelcund, traverses, with many windings, the province of Berar and the district of Kuttak in Orissa, frequently changing its name, and dividing into several branches; and it at length forms a delta covered with jungle, and intersected by the various channels by which it falls into the Bay of Bengal. Its whole course is estimated at 550 miles. The Godavery (*Gadavari*) has its source in the Western Ghauts, about 70 miles N.E. of Bombay. After traversing the province of Aurungabad in the Nizam territory, and the Tilligana country, from W. to E., it bends to the S.E., and receives the Bhaigonga, about 90 miles from the sea; having previously been joined by the Wurda, the Silair, and some smaller streams. At Rajamundry,* it separates into two great branches, which again subdivide, falling by many mouths into the Bay, and forming tide-harbours for vessels of moderate burthen. Including the windings, its course may be estimated at 850 miles in length, extending nearly across from sea to sea. This river is held very sacred by the Hindoos of the Deccan, by whom it is called Gunga Godavery, or simply Gunga; and its source, like that of the Bhagiruttee, is fabled to be a cow's mouth.

The Krishna (sometimes written Kistna), which, according to the Mohammedan geographers, bounds the Deccan on the south, (separating it from the Peninsula,) has also its source in the Western Ghauts at not more than 50 miles from the western coast. Its

* Below Rajamundry, it forms, by this division, the fertile island of Nagar, which comprehends about 500 square miles.

direction is to the S.W., till it reaches Merritch in Bejapoor, where it meets the Warnah, composed of several streams from the Ghauts. From this point, it bends more to the eastward, receiving, in its progress through Beeder, Hyderabad, and the Northern Circars, the waters of the Malpurba, the Gutpurba, the Beemah, and the Toombuddra. It forms the northern boundary of the Guntoor Circar, separating it from Condapilly, which, with Ellore, occupies the whole space between this river and the Godavery. After a course of nearly 650 miles, it forms a delta near Masulipatam. This river is also an object of worship, its name, which signifies black, or dark blue, being that of Vishnoo under his ninth incarnation. Like the Ganges, it has its periodical floods; and in the fertility which it creates, it ranks among the most useful of the Indian rivers.

To the south of the Krishna, the principal rivers are, the Pennar, the Palar, and the Cavery. The first of these is believed to have its source not far from Nundydroog in Mysore. It flows northward, till it approaches Gooty, in the Balaghaut; then bends round to S.E., passing by Gandicotte and Cuddapah; and finally, turning eastward, reaches the sea at Gungapatnam in the Carnatic, 108 miles north of Madras. The Palar also springs from the hills of Nundydroog, but takes a southerly direction, and, after flowing 220 miles through Mysore and the Carnatic, falls into the sea at Sadrass. The Cavery rises among the Coorg hills in the Western Ghauts, near the Malabar coast, and passes through Mysore, Coimbetoor, and the Carnatic below the Ghauts. The city of Seringapatam stands on an island formed by this river, which is even there large and rapid. Opposite to Trichinopoly, it again divides, and forms the island of Sering-

ham. The northern branch, under the name of the Coleroon, after a course of 80 miles, falls into the sea at Dericotta near Negapatam: it formerly bounded, on the south, the possessions of the Nabob of Arcot. The Cavery is prevented, by an immense mound, from falling into the bed of the Coleroon, which is 20 feet lower at the point where they approximate; and by the skill and industry of the Hindoos in ancient times, it has been made to flow through a variety of channels, dispensing fertility throughout the province of Tanjore. It at length reaches the sea near the capital, forming a wider delta than any other river in the Peninsula. The whole course of the Cavery is about 300 miles. This river is regarded by the Hindoos as one of their most beneficent deities. The arrival of the waters of the interior, when, swelled by the rains, the river fills the canals, is celebrated with festivity like that which is occasioned at Cairo by the rise of the Nile; and the anniversary of the marriage of the river-goddess to the god Renganaden, is observed by the worshippers of Vishnoo.

There are but few lakes in India. The Chilka lake, which separates the Northern Circars from the Kuttak district, towards the sea, is one of the principal; and this has evidently been formed by the sea breaking over the flat, sandy shore;—if, indeed, it be not rather the remains of a bay which has been converted into a lake by the accumulation of the sands, like those on the Egyptian coast. It is about 35 miles long and 8 broad; bounded, towards the east and south, by a narrow strip of sand, and on the north-west, by the mountains which extend from the Mahanady to the Godavery, and inclose the Northern Circars towards the interior. It receives one branch of the former river, and communicates with the sea by a

very narrow and deep outlet. The water is salt, and very shallow. The lake contains several inhabited islands. The lake of Pullicat, on the coast of the Carnatic, has evidently a similar origin. It extends 33 miles from N. to S., and is 11 miles across in the broadest part, inclosing several large islands. The Coloir lake, in the low tract of alluvial formation between the Krishna and the Godavery, is of a different description, being a mere reservoir of the waters deposited by those rivers during the inundation, and which are retained by the sinking of the ground into a vast hollow, 47 miles from E. to W. by 14 in breadth. In North Canara, there is an extensive lake, called the lake of Onore, which reaches nearly to the Ghauts. In the dry season, it is almost salt, not having, apparently, any outlet; but during the rainy season, the waters which it receives from the mountains, render the whole fresh. It abounds with fish, which, when salted, form a considerable article of inland commerce. In Hindostan Proper, there are still fewer lakes. There are two close under the walls of Ajmeer, the more northern of which is six miles in circumference, and very deep.

The nature of the country in the South of India, does not admit of that extensive inland navigation, either by the rivers or by artificial channels, that is carried on in the plains of Hindostan. In the Carnatic, there is a canal, near Fort St. David, connecting the Panaur with the Tripapolore river, which approach within 1800 yards of each other. But the only considerable work of the kind, is the canal made in 1803, from the Black Town of Madras to the river Ennore, 10,560 yards in length, and 12 feet deep, by which charcoal and fire-wood are brought to Madras from the high land behind Pullicat. The canal drawn

from the Jumna to Delhi, a distance of more than 100 miles, the work of the Mohammedan sovereigns, was, in 1810, repaired and cleansed by the Bengal Government. That which was to have communicated with the Sutlej, either was never completed, or has become choked up. There seems no reason, however, to doubt the practicability of thus connecting the waters of the Ganges and the Indus, when the political circumstances of the interjacent territory shall favour the project.

CLIMATE, SOIL, &c.

"ONLY two seasons," M. Malte Brun remarks, "are known in India; the dry and the rainy, produced by the south-west and north-west monsoons." The climate of India, however, and the alternation of the seasons, are subject to considerable local variations. It is in Southern and Peninsular India only that they are governed by the monsoons, which do not extend far beyond the tropics.* On the Malabar coast, the south-west monsoon commences about the middle of April, and continues till August or September, when it gradually loses its violence, and is succeeded by light, variable winds. Towards the latter end of October, the north-east monsoon begins on this coast; and, what is singular, like the opposite monsoon, it blows first on the southern part, and is not felt in the northern for about a fortnight after. This monsoon lasts till April. On the Coromandel coast, the south-

* They are said to extend decidedly to Tatta, in lat. 24° 44′, but do not reach Corachie, in lat. 24° 51′. South-west and west winds prevail here and all along the coast of Mekran, from April to October; but they often veer round to N. and N. W., and are seldom attended with squalls and rain.

west monsoon begins in the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, but is not regular or strong till June; land and sea breezes being not uncommon in March, April, and May. Even during the following three months, when this monsoon is very steady, a land breeze often blows from shore for 24 or 48 hours. In September, this monsoon declines, and the north-eastern commences about the middle of October; from which time till the beginning of December, navigation is rendered extremely dangerous. The long prevalence of the south-west monsoon forces a great body of water into the Gulf of Bengal, and occasions a tremendous surf on the Coromandel coast. The north-east winds continue this surf, by impelling the waves on shore. As soon, however, as this monsoon begins to abate, and the south-west current which prevails in the bay can operate, the surf on this coast is by no means high or dangerous; and during December, January, and February, the weather is settled and calm.

On both coasts, the setting in of the monsoons is generally accompanied with violent hurricanes; but storms and sudden rains are more frequent and violent on the Malabar coast, where the labours of the husbandman are liable to be defeated by two opposite causes,—devastating floods, and, what is still more to be dreaded, protracted drought. The Coromandel coast, on the other hand, experiences more violent heat and longer drought. The Carnatic and the north-western extremity of the Northern Circars, are deemed the hottest countries in all India.* As far as respects the rainy season, the climate of that part of

* Cochin and Sinde cannot be much less hot than any part of this coast.

India to which the monsoons extend, is, upon the whole, very regular. When the south-west monsoon prevails, the Malabar coast is deluged with rain, in consequence of the clouds which are brought by this wind being intercepted by the lofty ridge of the Western Ghauts. Owing to the same circumstance, it is then the dry season on the Coromandel coast; but, as the Western Ghauts extend no higher than the latitude of Surat, to the north of that parallel, the south-west monsoon, as far as it blows, carries the rain without interruption over the whole country. Thus, while the Carnatic has only about two months' rain, in the Circars the rains last for eight months. The lower part of the province of Coimbetoor partakes of the rainy monsoon of the Malabar coast: this is, probably, occasioned by the break in the Ghauts near Paniany, which permits the south-west winds to blow through. The rainy season on the Coromandel coast commences with the north-east monsoon, about the middle of October, when the dry season begins on the western coast. The rains on this coast are not, however, so violent as those of Malabar. This seems to be accounted for by the circumstance, that the Eastern Ghauts are less elevated, as well as further from the sea, than the Western; they consequently intercept a smaller portion of the clouds, and break them less completely.*

The Circars have some peculiar varieties attaching to their climate. To the north of the Godavery, a westerly wind, with moderate showers, begins about the middle of June. About the middle or end of August, the rain becomes more violent and regular;

* A similar diversification of the rainy season takes place in the Arabian peninsula, which is, in like manner, intersected by mountains.—See Mod. Trav., *Arabia*, p. 10.

and it continues so till the beginning of November, when the wind shifts to N.E., and stormy weather occurs. The atmosphere continues of a moderate temperature, with little rain, till the middle of March, and then the hot season commences. South of the Godavery, the climate of the Circars is somewhat different. During January and February, the wind blows along the shore strong from the south; and as the sea-breezes set in regularly every day, the temperature is moderate. In March, the west wind, blowing over a loose, parched soil, and along the sandy and almost dry bed of the Krishna, produces a most oppressive degree of heat; the thermometer being sometimes raised, near the mouth of that river, to 110° within doors, and seldom falling below 105°. In the low country of the Arcot district, during the hot season, the thermometer rises to 100° under a tent, and to 120° in the sun. At Madras, taking the average of the whole year, the heat is less than at Calcutta, the mean height being 80°: in January, when the temperature is lowest, the thermometer is about 75°, and it seldom rises above 91° in July. The hottest months on the Malabar coast are April and May. At Cochin, the *maximum* height in April is 105°. At Bombay, the thermometer ranges, during the year, from 64° to 98°; at Surat, from 59° to 96°. At Calcutta, during the month of April, it rises as high as 110°, and rarely falls below 72°.

During the first part of the rainy monsoon on the coast of Malabar (in May and June), a considerable quantity of rain falls in the table-land of Mysore; but it is uncertain whether this is attributable to the monsoon, or is merely the periodical tropical rain. In the north-western extremity of the Rajah of Mysore's territories, on the summit of the Western

Ghauts, there are usually nine rainy months in the year. During six of these, we are told, it is impossible to go abroad, the rain is so violent and incessant; and "it is customary to make the same preparatory arrangements for provision, water excepted, as are adopted in a ship proceeding on a voyage." The elevation of this part of India is so great, that the climate is a month later than it is on the coast. In the mountainous parts of Coimbetoor, there are two rainy seasons; the first in April, the second lasting from July to October. The north-western parts of Hindostan Proper appear to have the driest climate. During the months of July, August, and the early part of September, which is the rainy season in most other parts of India, the atmosphere is generally clouded, but no rain falls, except very near the sea. Indeed, in Sinde and Tatta more especially, very few showers fall throughout the year. Owing to this circumstance, together with the proximity of the sandy deserts to the eastward, the heats are extremely violent, the thermometer, in June and July, ranging from 90° to 100°. When the hot winds prevail, it is found necessary to close the windows, ventilation being obtained by means of the wind-chimneys, which are there very general.* The great desert extending S.E. of the Indus, and to the N. of Gujerat, exhibits all the horrors of the Arabian deserts. The valleys of Cashmere and Serinajur, on the contrary, and those of Gurwal and Nepaul, encircled with Alpine heights, experience in succession "the rigours of a real

* These are attached to all "the houses of the great" in the towns on the Persian Gulf. See Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 302. At Aleppo, it is, in like manner, usual to shut up the doors and windows during the prevalence of the hot winds. See Syria, vol. i. p. 295.

winter, the delights of a lengthened spring, and the genial heat of a healthy summer." *

In that part of Bengal which lies near the head of the Bay, northerly winds prevail during October, November, and December, and southerly ones from March to the end of May. The seasons are generally divided into cold, wet, and dry; but the natives reckon six seasons in their year. The spring and dry season occupy four months of the year; February, March, April, and May. The periodical rains commence pretty generally all over the flat country in the beginning of June. During the first two months of the rainy season, there is scarcely an interval of two dry days; and four or five inches of rain have fallen in a single day.† In August and September, the rains begins to intermit, and the intervals gradually become longer and more frequent, while the weather grows very sultry. At Calcutta, the heat is sometimes so intense, that pigeons have been known to drop down dead at noon, while flying over the market-place. In the middle districts of this province, there occasionally occur thunder-storms during the hot season, which cool the atmosphere; and in the eastern districts, the same effect is produced by occasional showers. As the cold season approaches, fogs and dews are common, which are sometimes very dense. In the higher parts of Bengal, the weather is some-

* Malte Brun remarks, that it was in the Punjaub and the more elevated districts, that the ancients collected their examples of Indian longevity.

† In the lower parts of Bengal, the average fall of rain in the year is between 70 and 80 inches. During the S.W. monsoon at Bombay, the quantity that falls, exceeds 100 inches; sometimes amounting to 112. At Madras, upwards of 30 inches have been known to fall in one month; but the annual quantity does not average higher than 70 or 80 inches.

times very cold. Between the parallels of 28° and 29°, in the province of Delhi, the summer heats are likewise intense; but, in winter, when the wind blows from the northern mountains, the thermometer falls below 30°, and water freezes in the tents. Even in the Benares district of Allahabad, the cold in winter is so severe as to render fires necessary. And at Calcutta, in December, with a N.E. wind, the thermometer falls to 52°. In the highlands of the Deccan also, the winters are cold. At Hyderabad, and in the provinces to the north of it, the thermometer, during three months, is often as low as 45°, sometimes down to 35°.*

The soil of India exhibits fewer varieties than might be expected in so vast a tract of country. In the whole of the Gangetic plain, the prevalent soil is a rich black mould of alluvial origin. No other soil appears below Dacca and Borleah, between the Tiperah hills on the east, and Burdwan on the west; nor is there any substance so coarse as gravel, either in the Delta or nearer the sea than Oudanulla, which is 400 miles distant by the course of the river. At that place, a rocky point projects from the base of the neighbouring hills into the river. In other parts of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, there is a considerable extent of clayey soil; and that this was the original soil where the black mould is now found, is proved by the appearance of the beds of the rivers, which are of clay. The soil of the Punjaub resembles

* The above details relating to the climate and seasons of India, are taken chiefly from the article *India*, in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, edited by Dr. Brewster. The writer has drawn his information from materials to which M. Malte Brun seems not to have had access, since, on these points, his account of Hindostan is singularly defective.

that which prevails in Bengal, and is equally fertile. In Malwah also, it is a deep, black, rich mould. The whole of the plains of Chitteldroog in the Mysore, extending ten miles from N. to S., and four from E. to W., consist of black mould to a great depth. Towards Gujerat and Sinde, the soil becomes more sandy. Gundwana and Orissa contain the largest proportion of poor, unproductive soil. On the table-land of the Deccan and the southern provinces, the soil is of various qualities; but in general, it is a fertile loam on rock. Near the coast, it is sandy and poor. In the province of Malabar, the soil at the foot of the low hills which intervene between the sea and the Ghauts, is a red clay or brick earth. On the Coromandel coast, the sandy soil continues nearly to the foot of the Eastern Ghauts. The summits of this chain are of granite, and present a frightful barrenness. The Western Ghauts are described as containing much limestone and basaltic rocks. Rocks of trap formation, sandstone, and quartz are found in Malwah.* The *substratum* of the soil in Hindostan Proper is, in many places, calcareous: in other parts, it is clay or rock. With the exception of the few uncultivated parts which have been referred to, and the marshy tracts near the mouths and banks of the great rivers, India every where presents beautiful meadows, rich pastures, fields loaded with biennial harvests, and valleys adorned with every useful and every beautiful product of vegetation. In the dry season, indeed, nature seems to languish; but one night's rain will transform an arid plain into a verdant

* See some valuable Geological Notes on the strata between Malwa and Guzerat, by Captain John Stewart, in Transactions of the Lit. Society of Bombay, vol. iii. art. 16.

meadow; and in this country, the kingdom of Flora is exhibited in all its glory.

VEGETABLE AND MINERAL PRODUCTIONS.

THE natural history of India can be only glanced at in this rapid outline. To its rare vegetable treasures, not less than to its mineral riches, this country has owed the distinction of being, in all ages, the fountain of mercantile wealth, and the focus of commercial enterprise. The Indian nard, or spikenard, is supposed to be the species of valerian known by the Hindoos under the name of *jatamansi*.* The *malabathrum*,† purchased at a high price by the Romans, and mentioned as an aromatic unguent by Horace, is supposed to be the betel-leaf (*piper betel*), which, together with the areca-nut and quick-lime (*chunam*), forms the masticatory of which the Birmans are so passionately fond. It flourishes particularly in the Tiperah district, on the banks of the Megna, where the coming crop is regularly bought up by the Birman merchants. The areca-palm is cultivated over nearly the whole of India for its nuts. It grows spontaneously on the hills in the Concan and North Canara.

* In Persian, *khustah*; in Arabic, *sumbul*; in Bootanee, *pampi*. It is indigenous in Bootan and Nepaul. The odour resembles that of the violet. See Asiat. Res. iv. 106, 451, 733; Vincent's Periplus, App. 37; Phil. Trans. 1790, lxx. 284; and Calmet's Dict. by Taylor, vol. iv. 129—128.

† *Malabathrum* is supposed to be derived from *Mala*, Malabar, and *patra*, the Sanscrit for leaf. An extract or composition from the leaf, or rather from the nut, was probably the article so designated. Horace and Pliny both describe it as an unguent:—

——— "*nitentes*
Malabathro Syrio capillos."

(Od. ii. 7; and Plin. lib. xii. 26). It was probably brought from India by Syrian merchants. It was also used to perfume wines.—VINCENT'S *Periplus*, ii. 60.

In Malabar, there is a red species, which is used in dyeing. Besides the areca or cabbage-palm, there is a great variety of the palm-kind in India. The cocoa-nut-tree is found in all parts, but especially on the sandy coasts of the Peninsula. This invaluable tree supplies the natives at once with food, lamp-oil, coir-cables (made from the fibrous covering of the nut), thatch for their huts, a cloak in the rainy season, a fermented juice called *jaghery*, and the spirit known under the names of arrack and toddy. Rafters, water-pipes, fuel, and a substitute for paper, are afforded by the leaves and wood of the other varieties of palm. The largest species is the greater fan-palm, which abounds in the Payenghaut: two or three of its leaves are said to be sufficient to thatch a cottage. The most beautiful species is the sago-palm, which is less common.

The *acacia catechu* (*cate-chu*, juice-tree, called in Bahar, *cocra*) abounds in most of the mountainous districts, rising to the height of about 12 feet. The extract (called *cult* by the natives, *cutch* by the English) is obtained from the inner wood, and is exported both from Bengal and Bombay. The *acacia Arabica*, the Babul-tree of the Hindoos, grows in great abundance all over the Deccan, and is very common in the wastes of Gujerat, where its gum (which closely resembles in its qualities gum-arabic) is used by the poorer sort as food.* It bears a handsome and very sweet-scented flower, consisting of a bright yellow ball. The bark is used for tanning, and the wood is considered to make the best wheels and axle-trees of any in India. This tree also makes an excel-

* The gum-arabic obtained from the *acacia vera*, is highly nutritive, and is eaten by the Arabs. See Mod. Trav. *Arabia*, pp. 171—5.

lent hedge-fence. The sandal-tree is another valuable production of India. The *pterocarpus santalinus*, which furnishes the red sanders-wood, flourishes in the Mysore, above the Western Ghauts. The sandal, which is merely the heart of the wood, is exported chiefly from the Malabar coast, in large billets of a blackish red outside, but a bright red within. This species has no smell, and little or no taste, but yields a colouring matter resembling that of the Brazil wood.* The yellow sanders-wood (*santalum flavum*) appears to be the heart of a different species, and is much more highly prized in India. It has a pleasant smell, and is an aromatic bitter. With the powder of this wood, the paste is prepared, with which the Hindoos, Persians, Arabians, Chinese, and Turks anoint themselves. It is likewise burned in their houses, and gives a fragrant and wholesome smell. It yields, on distillation, a fragrant essential oil, which thickens into the consistence of a balsam. In many of its qualities, it appears to resemble the aloes-wood, if it be not the aloes-tree of the ancients.† The *pterocarpus draco* is the tree which supplies the resin commonly called dragon's blood: this tree rises to the height of 30 feet.‡ The plant which produces the gum-ammo-

* The brazil-wood is, in like manner, the heart of the tree, which is a lomentaceous shrub. See Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. i. p. 88.

† Some have supposed the Ἀλόη of the Periplus to be the sandal-wood; and it is some confirmation of this opinion, that the Hebrew *ahalim* (Num. xxiv. 6; Psal. xlv. 9; Prov. vii. 16; Cant. iv. 14), rendered lign-aloes in our version, and by the LXX and Jerome sometimes translated aloe, is by the Rabbins translated *santal*. This was also the opinion of an Arabian Jew consulted by Niebuhr. See Calmet's Dict. *Aloes*; Gesenius's Heb. Lex. *ahalim*; Harris's Nat. Hist. of the Bible.

‡ This is said to be a papilionaceous plant of the *decandria* order and *diadelphia* class; whereas the *santalum* is classed with the *octandria monogynia*.

niac (*delichos pruriens*) grows in Bengal, where it is called *cadjuot*. Gum-lac is said to be a production of the *mimosa cinerea;* and the *bdellium* (*bdolach*, βδελχον, βδελλα) of the ancients is believed to have been an odoriferous resin, or transparent gum obtained from some species of mimosa.* The *heracleum gummiferum* is a native of India. Little has hitherto been done towards classifying the endless varieties of myrrh or resin-bearing trees, among which rank several varieties of the Indian fig, and shrubs of both the acacia and jujube species. The *coccus lacca*, or gum-lac insect, is said to be found on four or five different trees. Gamboge also is a vegetable resin produced by an Indian tree (*gutta*); and a red gum is obtained from the *guilandina moringa*.

The *sweitenia febrifuga*, which supplies an astringent and tonic bark, used by the natives in intermittent fevers, grows among the mountains of the Rajahmundry Circar. Zedoary (*curcuma*,) the root of which is medicinal, grows in sandy open places in Malabar, where it is called *acua* by the Brahmins. The ginger-plant (*ali*) grows in most parts of the Malabar coast where the sea cannot penetrate. The

* The *bdolach* of Gen. ii. 12, was certainly some white precious stone; (Bochart and Geddes suppose it the pearl, which is not likely;) and the colour of bdellium (Numb. xi. 7) was like hoar-frost, Exod. xiii. 14, 31. By the Rabbies, it is rendered crystal. It was, perhaps, diamond, which the hoar-frost in the sun would most resemble. The βδελλα of the Periplus is described by Salmasius as a *pellucid* exudation of a waxy substance, and there are said to be three sorts, Arabic, Petræan, and Bactrian. It was imported, according to the Periplus, from Barosch in Guserat, and from Sinde.—VINCENT'S *Periplus*. App. p. 6. This was, perhaps, the true *amomum*, *mom* signifying wax. If not the *oshauk* or gum-ammoniac plant, it was probably of a similar kind. See the description of the *oshauk* in Mod. Trav. *Persia*, vol. ii. p. 143; and of the Chinese wax-trees, *ib.* p. 308.

tamarindus Indica produces tamarinds* of a darker colour and drier than those of the West Indies, with pods twice as long. The *elettoria cardamomum*, or cardamon-plant, grows on the declivities of the Ghauts above Cochin and Calicut. The *laurus cassia* bears what is called Malabar cinnamon, which, in some respects, but in an inferior degree, answers the officinal and domestic purposes of the real cinnamon, the produce of Ceylon.* The *laurus camphora*, or camphor-cinnamon, (called, in Ceylon, *capuru curundu*,) from the root of which camphor is obtained, appears to be a variety of the *laurus cinnamomum* (*penni curundu*, honey cinnamon).† These are no longer found on the Indian continent, if they were ever indigenous there. The *piper longum* is a native both of Bengal and Malabar, and the *piper nigrum* has recently been found to flourish in the Northern Circars. The

* In the Periplus, ten different sorts of *κασσία* are mentioned; and it is remarked by the learned Editor as a curious coincidence, that Professor Thunberg reckons ten sorts of cinnamon in Ceylon, four of nearly equal value. He considers it as certain, that the cassia of the Periplus was what we now call cinnamon. In Exod. xxx. 23, 4, the *kinnemon bosem* (sweet-scented pipe), is distinguished from *kiddah*, rendered cassia by our translators, which was apparently a bark. The former seems to correspond to the *casia syrina* and *casia fistula* of the Greeks and Latins, as the latter is supposed to be their *xylo-casia* and *casia lignea*. The Roman cinnamon, Dr. Vincent thinks, was the tender shoot of the same plant. See Periplus, vol. i. pp. 12—23, of App. The subject is involved in some perplexity. Galen states, that casia and cinnamon are so much alike that it is not easy to distinguish them. This would seem to hold good of the *laurus casia* and *laurus cinnamomum*, but could not be true of the substances above referred to. Could the *khinna-mon* or *κιννάμωμον* be camphor,—the *mom* or wax of the *laurus camphora*?

† Knox's Ceylon, p. 16. In the term *caputu*, we seem to have the Heb. *copher* and the Greek *κυπρος*, which some writers have supposed to be the *henna* (*lawsonia inermis*). The Sanscrit for cinnamon is said to be *sowrnaca* or *curuna*.

Arabians call the Malabar coast, *belled-el-folfol*, the pepper-country. The *papaver orientale*, from which opium is obtained, thrives in almost all the provinces; but the best comes from Bengal and Bahar. The Indian sesamum furnishes an oil known to antiquity as an article of commerce. Indigo grows spontaneously in Gujerat, and is cultivated on a large scale in Bengal, Bahar, Oude, and Agra. A species of *nerium*, yielding a valuable blue dye, has been discovered in the Circars. This country has been celebrated for its cotton from the remotest times. The sugar-cane is cultivated also to a great extent, as it has been from time immemorial, throughout India.* Jalap, sarsa-

* Sugar has been cultivated in India, from time immemorial. The name of Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, a city highly celebrated in Indian history, is supposed to be derived from *gur*, which, in both the ancient and the modern languages, signifies raw sugar. That the cane was an article of commerce in very early times, appears from the references to this production by the Jewish prophets. (See Isa. xliii. 24; Jer. vi. 20.) In the Periplus, sugar is described as Μιλι καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σακχαρι, honey from canes, called *sacchari*. Pliny says: "Arabia produces *saccaron*, but the best is in India: it is a honey collected from reeds, a sort of white gum, brittle between the teeth; the largest pieces do not exceed the size of a hazel-nut, and it is used only in medicine."—*Lib.* xii. *c.* 8. *Sarcara* or *saccara*, we are told, is the Sanscrit term for manufactured sugar. Dr. Vincent, on the authority of a paper in the Asiatic Researches, gives, as the Sanscrit word, *ichshu-casa*, and supposes that from the two middle syllables the Arabic *shuka* or *shuker* was formed. It is agreed, that sugar and *sucre* come from the Arabic; the Saracens and Arabians having propagated the cane in their conquests. From Egypt, it was carried into Sicily, which, in the twelfth century, supplied many parts of Europe with that commodity; and from Sicily, it appears to have travelled westward, to Spain, the Canaries, Hispaniola, and Brazil. The noun שכר *shekar*, occurs nineteen times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is uniformly translated strong drink, in distinction from wine. Some sort of mead or fermented liquor may be intended; but it is very possible that a saccharine spirit was obtained from the syrup of the cane, (still exported under the

parilla, ginger, saffron, anise, various dyes, tobacco, flax, hemp, and many other plants well known to commerce, are the production of the Indian soil.

India produces those species of grain which are most common to Europe,—wheat, barley, maize, and millet; but rice is the chief food of the frugal natives, and grows in most of the provinces. There are reckoned no fewer than twenty-seven varieties.* The *holcus spicatus*, called *badchera*, is a common food, especially among the Mahrattas. Several other species of *holcus* are cultivated; in particular, *holcus dhourra* (*andropogon sorghum* or *holcus sorgheum*), called by the natives *tchor*. Instead of our potato, the Indians have the *katchil* root, the *igname* (*dioscorea alata*), and the *moogphully* (*arachis hypogæa*). Besides our leguminous species, they have the *moong* (*phaseolus mungo*); the *murhus* (*cynosurus coracanus*), the grain of which resembles mustard-seed, and is used for cakes; the *tanna*, a very productive grain; the *tour* (*cytisus cajan*); and the *toll*, a shrub yielding a

name of *jaghery*,) to which that name was given, and that the verb *shakar* was made from the noun. The Greek σικύα and Latin *sicera*, have obviously a similar etymology; and possibly, συκον, a fig, may, in like manner, be derived from its saccharine quality.

* The ground under the wet cultivation, called *nungah* land, brings forth crops almost all the year round; and even on the *pungah* land, or that which is not under wet cultivation, there are two harvests,—*kheerif* in September and October, and *rubbeef* in March and April. Wheat is not much cultivated south of Allahabad, nor is there much demand for it. The finest is obtained from Gujerat. The crop of *raggy* in Mysore and the southern provinces, is the most important of any raised in the dry field, and supplies the lower classes with their common food. Maize is little grown, except in the western provinces. Flax is cultivated only for its oil, and the common hemp for the sake of the intoxicating spirit obtained from it, called *bang*. For further details relating to the agriculture of India, we may refer our readers to Brewster's Ency. vol. xii. pp. 76—89.

favourite kind of pea. The red lotus, the most beautiful of the *nymphæas*, is common on the banks of the southern rivers, and its roots are used for food in different ways.* The small-fruited banana (*musa sapientum*) has, in all ages, been the food of the philosophers of India and priests of Brahma. Among the Eastern Ghauts, the great American aloe (*agave Americana*) grows in great profusion. The bread-tree (*melia azadirachta*) and the *robenia mitis*, grow spontaneously in the barren sands of the Carnatic: the latter is found also in the rich muddy soil on the banks of the Ganges.

The fruits of Europe, the apple, the pear, the plum, the apricot, the peach, the walnut, the almond, the orange, and the mulberry thrive in the northern provinces. † The mango, of all Indian fruits deemed the most delicious, grows both wild and cultivated in almost every part, but thrives best in the southern districts. Battalah, in the Punjaub, is celebrated for a plum of excellent flavour, called the *aloocha*. In the Sylhet district of Bengal, orange-plantations occupy a considerable tract, and this fruit forms the chief export of that part. Grapes of an extraordinary size are produced in the neighbourhood of Chikery, in the territories of the Peishwa; they are grown also in some parts of Aurungabad and Malwah, and have recently been introduced into the territory of Bombay. The *jumboo*, a species of rose-apple, is esteemed not only for its fruit, but also for its crimson flowers, which hang down very elegantly from every part of the stem. Two species of the papan-fig

* See Mod. Trav. *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 24. *Persia*, vol. ii. pp. 41, 306.

† The largest and best apples grow in the Punjaub, near Battalah. In Lahore, the white mulberry attains a remarkably large size and fine flavour.

are remarkable for the rose-flavour and sweetness of the fruit. In addition to these may be enumerated, the *spondius dulcis;* the *dillenia Indica*, remarkable for its beauty, and bearing a large pomaceous fruit of a pleasant acid, and equalling the lily in fragrance; the *pillaw*, the fruit of which is described as resembling the almond in flavour, but the nuts are contained in fibrous bags, sometimes attaining twenty-five pounds weight; the *averrhoe carambola*, which bears three crops of fruit in the year; and the elephant-apple, almost equally a favourite with the animal whose name it bears, and with the Hindoos.

Among the trees and shrubs remarkable for their beauty, the *hibiscus ficulneus* is distinguished by its magnitude and the profusion of its elegant blossoms; it is also of peculiar value in a tropical climate, as hardly any insects are found under its shade. The cotton-tree rises with a thorny trunk 18 feet in circumference, to the height of 50 feet, without a branch; it then throws out numerous boughs, which are adorned, in the rainy season, with large purple blossoms: these are succeeded by the capsule containing the cotton. The *nyctanthes hirsuta* (or *sambac*) and the *jasminum grandiflorum* (*kadtumaligu*) boast the most fragrant blossoms of the Oriental Flora; the former perfuming the night, the latter giving forth its scent by day. The *gloriosa superba* and the Indian vine form, by their union, "bowers worthy of Paradise." The *butea superba*, a small tree, by the striking contrast of its green leaves, black flower-stalks, and large scarlet papilionaceous blossoms, attracts the admiration of the most incurious. Among the trees which diffuse their fragrance over the forests, while they adorn them with their splendid blossoms, is the *pandanus odoratissima*, together with various species of

bignonia. The elegant *atimuctá* (*banisteria bengalensis*); the *tchambaga*, used by the Indians for adorning their hair and perfuming their clothes; the *mussœnda*, which displays in fine contrast its white leaves and blood-red flowers; the *ixora*, which, from boughs six feet in height, exhibits its scarlet and yellow tufts of flowers, "like so many bright flames enlivening the foliage of the woods;" the *sindrimal*, which opens its flowers at four in the afternoon, and closes them at four in the morning; and the *nagatalli* or *pergularia tomentosa*, a parasitical plant poisonous to the serpent tribe; may also be mentioned among the more curious and remarkable varieties in Indian botany. The sensitive plant is said to grow spontaneously in the Amran district of Gujerat. The fine white rose called the *koondja*, scents the vales of Delhi and Serinagur; and the rose-plantations of Cashmere yield the highly-valued *attar*.

The oak, the pine, the cypress, and the poplar are found in various parts of India; but the forests consist chiefly of species unknown to Europe. One of the most valuable of these is the teak-tree,* the qualities and uses of which appear to have been little known or appreciated in this country till towards the close of the last century. It affords a hard and almost incorruptible timber, well fitted to supply the place of oak in ship-building. This tree, which is almost peculiar to India and Indo-China, is found along the western side of the Ghauts and other contiguous ranges of hills, particularly on the N. and N.E. of Bassein. The

* The *tektona grandis* of Linnæus, of the *pentandria monogynia* class. It is an evergreen, and esteemed a sacred tree. A purple dye is obtained from the tender leaves; also a medicinal syrup; and the flowers, mixed with honey, are prescribed in dropsy. Vast forests of teak-tree cover the *delta* of the Irrawaddy in Birmah.

forests of Rajamundry, stretching from the hills on the banks of the Godavery to Potoonshah, contain also great numbers of these trees; but this is the only district on the eastern side of the Peninsula which furnishes them. In North Canara, the number of teak-trees annually felled, amounts to about 3000; and it is computed, that the district of Palicaudcherry in Malabar, might supply annually 45,000 cubical feet of this valuable timber. Excellent timber for masts is furnished by the *ponna* (*valeria Indica*, *uvaria altissima*), called the mast-tree or poon-tree, which grows to the height of 60 feet.* Small timber for building is furnished also by the *koru* (or *sacoo*) of the northern forests, the *djissoo* (a species of *pterocarpus*), and the *nagassa* or iron-wood. The Indian ebony, which abounds in Ceylon, is said also to be found on the banks of the Ganges at Allahabad. In North Canara, abounds a very remarkable tree, the *calophyllum inophyllum*, esteemed alike for its welcome shade, its fragrant blossoms, and the useful properties of its seeds, from which is extracted the lamp-oil in general use in that part. It frequently attains 90 feet in height and 12 in circumference. The *ricinus communis*, or *palma Christi*, is cultivated in the Mysore, as well as in other parts of India, for the castor-oil, which is used for the lamp; and the seeds are given to the female buffaloes with a view to increase their milk. On the Almora hills in Kumaoon, grows a tree called *phutwarrah*, attaining the height of 50 feet, with a circumference of six, from the kernels of which is extracted a fat-like substance. The northern sides of the hills in the upper part of Delhi produce the common Scotch fir in great abun-

* See a botanical plate of this and the teak-tree in Pennant's Hindoostan, vol. i. A very brief description of some other large trees is given at p. 134 of vol. ii.

dance: it is, indeed, not uncommon in the northern districts of Hindostan Proper. The mountainous districts of Nepaul and Upper Lahore contain vast forests of pine: those of the Terriani district are not surpassed any where in straightness and durability. From the *Sulla* pine, a pure turpentine, called *kota*, is produced. The willow is generally found in those parts of India where the pine thrives.

Some individuals of the sacred banyan, or Indian fig-tree (*ficus religiosa* of Linnæus), will come under description in our topographical account of the country. The two most remarkable for size in India, are found, one on an island in the Nerbuddah, within a few miles of Baroache, and the other not far from the town of Mangee in Bahar. The former is said by the natives to be 3000 years old, and is supposed to be the largest in the world, its shade being capable of sheltering 7000 persons. It has no fewer than 350 trunks (that is, branches that have taken root, and which in circumference exceed most English trees), and upwards of 3000 smaller branches, measuring nearly 2000 feet in circumference. It must once have been considerably larger, as part of its roots have been swept away, along with the bank, by the floods.* The other

* A description of this surprising tree, called the *Cubeer Burr*, is given in Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 166. It is supposed to be the identical tree which Arrian describes (*Hist. Ind.* cap. 11) in speaking of the gymnosophists. Another celebrated tree of this kind, at Gomberoon in Persia, is described by Sir Thomas Herbert (Travels, 1665, p. 122) and by Tavernier. The latter says: "The Franks call it the Banian's tree, because, in those places where those trees grow, the idolaters always take up their quarters, and dress their victuals under them." A tree of the same kind once grew near the city of Ormus, "being the only tree that grew in the island." Dr. Fryer says, the Portuguese called it *arbor de rais*, because the branches bear its own roots; and the banyan-tree, for the adoration the banyans pay it; "by whom it

tree has between 50 and 60 stems, and the circumference of its shadow at noon is 1116 feet.

A great part of the soil of India is covered with forests of bamboo, a species of reed sometimes rising to the enormous height of 60 feet, in the short space of five months, with a circumference of 8 inches. It attains its greatest height during the first year, and during the second, acquires those properties of elasticity and hardness which render the wood so useful for a variety of purposes. A single acre of bamboos, with a good soil and proper management, produces more wood than ten acres of any other tree. At the N.W. extremity of the Northern Circars, the forests consist almost entirely of bamboos; and as, besides their thorns, they grow closer, and resist the axe better, than any other tree, the inhabitants formerly trusted entirely to their bamboo forests, binding and intertwining the reeds so as to constitute an excellent defence to their fortresses, in the place of redoubts,—at least in the rainy season: in dry weather, as they are very inflammable, they can afford little protection. The larger shoots and the trunk are employed by the Hindoos in constructing their slight habitations, and for all sorts of furniture. The best bamboos, used for

is held as sacred as the oak to our old Druids, who paint it daily, and make offerings of rice, and pray to it. It has leaves like an ivy." Milton has given an admirable description of this tree in the Paradise Lost (b. ix. 1101, *et seq.*)

> ——" such as at this day, to Indians known,
> In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms
> Branching so broad and long, that, in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> Above the mother tree, a pillared shade
> High over-arched, and echoing walks between.
> There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
> Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
> At loopholes cut thro' thickest shade."

palankeens, grow near the summit of the rocks in the pergunnahs of Tolcan and Hindole in Orissa. They spring up in July, at which time the stringent shoots are fastened to stakes, in order to train them to the proper form; and at the beginning of the dry season, the tops are cut off, which prevents their running higher, and makes them grow hard and elastic. In some parts, the young shoots are pickled for eating. The indurated juice of the plant, called *tabasheer*, has been used in medicine, and is a very remarkable vegetable secretion, being a hydrate of silica. The first and smaller shoots form the well-known walking-canes; and a kind of pail is made of the larger shoots, in which water keeps extremely cool. Various other reeds, as the *arundo calamus*, abound every where.

Of the grasses, the *poa cynosuroides*, the *kossa*-grass of the natives, deserves particular notice. It is regarded as a sacred grass, is used at sacrifices, and is held almost constantly in the hands of such as are anxious to be regarded as particularly devout. It is also of considerable use, since from the roots is made a sort of mats called *tatts*. These are placed against the doors or windows, and kept constantly watered, by which means an agreeable scent, as well as coolness, is diffused through the apartments. On the eastern frontiers of Bengal, an immense extent of sandy soil is covered with the *augeah* grass, which grows to the height of 30 feet and the thickness of a man's wrist. The jungle grass is common in many parts of the country. In the Rajemal district of Bengal, it attains the height of eight or ten feet, and is topped with an elegant downy blossom, resembling the feathers of a swan. These coarse grasses are the only kind which could exist in the burning climate of India. Even these disappear, in some places, during the prevalence

of the hot winds, so completely, that the farmers are obliged to feed their cattle on the roots cut from under the ground, and washed. The grass-cutters, who form a distinct class, by means of a sharp instrument, will bring provender from a field that has no appearance of verdure. During the rainy season, the grass-lands look green, and are covered with various kinds of pasture; but it consists for the most part of a hard grass, similar to what is called *bent* in England, and which is neither relished by the cattle, nor nourishing. In some districts of India, however, the pastures are abundant and nutritious. The Lacky Jungle, a circular tract forty miles in diameter, on the confines of Delhi and Ajmeer, is celebrated all over India for its fertile pastures and its excellent breed of horses. The Poorneah district of Bengal is also distinguished by its extensive and fertile pastures. The excellence of the bullocks of Gujerat is in some measure owing to the richness of the grasses in those parts of the provinces which lie near the Run; and the elevated table-land of the Mysore affords extensive tracts of rich pasture-land.

Although the mineralogy of India has not been very carefully or thoroughly explored, it is certain that, in mineral wealth, it is one of the richest countries in the world. The rivers of the Deccan, of Orissa, and of Berar, still carry down gold in considerable quantities; the Sutlej also, and its tributaries, afford grains of gold on washing. The *Ayeen Akbaree* mentions several rivers with golden sands in the Punjaub, Cashmere, and Kumaoon; and it is said, that the nearer the source of the rivers, the more gold is obtained. In many of the rivers of Assam, gold is by no means uncommon; especially in the Dekrung, which falls into the Brahmapootra. All this proves that the pre-

cious metal must abound in the Himalaya mountains, although no gold-mines have been discovered.* In the eastern extremity of the Rajah of Mysore's territories, an area of country, comprising 130 miles, is said to contain gold dust. Mines of silver and lead are stated to be found in the mountains of Kumaoon, and in Assam; and there are lead-mines in the territory of the Rajah of Joudpoor, in Ajmeer. Extensive and valuable copper-mines exist at Dhampoor and other places in Nepaul and Kumaoon: copper is said to exist also in Agra, Ajmeer, and Badrekshan. Iron is found in various parts, especially in Mysore. At Ghettypour, steel is manufactured. Not far from Severndroog, the sand is absolutely black with particles of iron, of which sufficient quantities are collected during the rainy season, to keep a furnace employed during the remainder of the year. Black sand, mixed with iron ore, is also brought down in the rainy season by the torrents from the Eastern Ghauts, especially near Naiekhan-eray. At some of the iron-works, 47 *per cent.* of malleable iron is obtained from this ore; but it is by no means in a pure state: the work is every where performed in a very rude and careless manner. In the Velater district of Malabar, there are many iron-forges. In the Singrowla district of Gundwana, this metal abounds. The hilly country of Bahar is also rich in iron, which is fused for sale by the natives in large quantities; and in the south-

* Herodotus states, that the tribute paid by the Indian satrap to Darius Hystaspes, which was nearly one-third of the whole tribute paid by the twenty satrapies, was paid in gold. The ancients say, that the gold was heaped up by the ants in India, which, in the river-courses, might be literally true. It is probable, that the quantity obtained from the Indus and its tributaries was much greater in early times. At all events, the classic writers were strictly correct in speaking of the auriferous rivers of India.

western coast of Gujerat, there are extensive iron-works. There are whole mountains of magnetic rock in the neighbourhood of Hoa in the province of Agra, from which iron is extracted. Some mines of tin are worked near Zamvar in Ajmeer, and in Punjaub. Quicksilver and antimony are said to be found in a few places; and zinc abounds.

The diamond-mines of India have long been known and celebrated. From that of Pannah (or Purnah),* in the Bundelcund district of Allahabad, the emperor Acbar drew eight *lacs* of rupees annually; and the native chiefs and Mahratta conquerors, who in turn succeeded to the possession of the district, derived a considerable revenue from this mine. Subsequently, however, it seems to have declined; for, in the year 1756, it yielded to the Rajah only four *lacs* of rupees. The mine of Sumboolpoor, on the banks of the Mahanuddy (the *Adamas* of the ancients), in Gundwana, is believed to be now the richest. After rains, a red clay is washed down from the mountains, in which diamonds are often found. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the diamond-mines of Sedhout, in the Balaghaut ceded territories, were very productive. Diamonds have also been found at Raolcondah, about forty miles N.W. of the junction of the Beemah and the Krishna; at Colore, on the southern bank of the latter river, not far from Condavir, in the Gentoor circar; and in different parts of Golconda. But all the diamond-mines of India have long ceased to be very productive, either through exhaustion or neglect. *Lapis lazuli*, which, in its perfect state, is one of the most beautiful productions of nature, and is considered by some learned writers as the sapphire

* Supposed to be the *Panassa* of Ptolemy.

of the ancients, is found in the mountains of Oude, and in those on the north-west of India, the Hindoo Coosh and Beloot-tag. The Indian onyx, supposed to be the *shoham* of the Jewish high-priests,* came from a chain of mountains which seems to correspond to the Balaghaut hills. Carnelion and other opaque gems are found near Cambay, and garnets near Hyderabad. Rubies, sapphires, amethysts, rock-crystals, and other precious stones, have been found in the channels of the mountain torrents. Bahar is rich in alabaster. The mountains of Ajmeer contain white, black, and green marbles; and both alabaster and marble quarries are found in other provinces. The Theban stone is very abundant all over Hindostan Proper, and is not uncommon in the Deccan and the Peninsula. In Bombay, there are large quarries. In one of the branches of

* Onyx, like bdellium, seems to be the name both of an odoriferous gum or unguent, and of a gem or precious stone. The former is the Hebrew *shecheleth*, Exod. xxx. 34; rendered by the Septuagint, *onycha*, and by the Arabic version, *ladanum*. Dioscorides describes it as the produce of a shell-fish found in some lakes in India,—an aromatic shell. But the root of the Hebrew word means to drop or distil, and *shecheleth* would seem, therefore, to mean some exudation. See also Ecclus. xxiv. 15. The *shoham* is first mentioned (Gen. ii. 12) in connexion with gold and bdellium. Two onyx-stones were attached to the ephod of the Jewish high-priest, on which were engraved the names of the tribes (Exod. xxviii. 9). Yet, onyx-stones are enumerated among the building materials prepared by David (1 Chron. xxix. 2). This, as the learned Editor of Calmet remarks, was probably the *onychites* which Pliny mentions as a stone of Caramania. The Greek ὄνυξ signifies the nail; and it may be supposed, that the drug, the gem, and the marble were all alike semi-transparent and of a similar colour: the latter seems to have been alabaster. Thus, Horace speaks of an onyx or alabaster box of spikenard (Od. iv. 12.);

"*Nardi parvus Onyx eliciet cadum.*"

See Calmet's Dict., *onyx*; and Harris's Nat. Hist. of the Bible, p. 287. The sardonyx, which is supposed to have resembled the sardius in colour and the onyx in kind, was perhaps carnelion.

the Ganges, and some other rivers, is found a very rare and curious stone called *salgrams*, which are regarded with religious veneration by the votaries of Vishnoo. It is an ammonite or fossil shell, and is described by Sonnerat as commonly black, but sometimes violet, of a round or oval form, a little flat, and nearly resembling touch-stone; hollow, with a small hole outside, yet very heavy.* Rock salt, sulphur, saltpetre, naphtha, and coal, are also to be enumerated among the mineral productions of India. A considerable quantity of saltpetre is manufactured in Bengal and Bahar, and exported to Europe, Tatary, and China.†

A general view of the principal productions of India, so far as they are articles of commerce, will be obtained from a list of exports, abstracted from papers printed by order of the House of Commons: with this, the reader may compare the catalogue of the articles of commerce mentioned in the Periplus ascribed to Arrian, as illustrated by the learned diligence of the Translator.

* The upper part of the Gunduk is called Salgrami, from the number of ammonites contained in the schistous rocks over which it passes. Might not the Druidical *anguinum*, or serpent's egg (*glain neidyr*) be an amulet of a similar description?

† In this imperfect sketch of the botany and mineralogy of India, we have availed ourselves of the article in Brewster's Ency. above mentioned, and of Malte Brun, vol. iii. pp. 28—35, to which we refer for authorities. Many of the statements, however, require to be verified; and we give the whole as a general guide to the inquiries of the future traveller, rather than as a satisfactory account of the vegetable and mineral productions of India.

EXPORTS IN 1810.

From BOMBAY and SURAT.

Cotton and piece goods. Cochineal. Cocoa-nuts and betel-nuts. Elephants' teeth. Grain. Hemp. Horses. Lead, red and white. Liquors. Salt. Spices. Sugar, Sugar-candy. Tin. Woollens.

From COCHIN and MALABAR.

Betel-nuts. Cocoa-nuts. Cardamoms. Coir cordage. Cassia. Copra. Ghee. Grain. Piece goods. Pepper. Sandal-wood. Teak timber.

From TINNEVELLY, COROMANDEL COAST, &c.

Brandy. Chanks. Copper. Cotton. Drugs. Fruit. Jaghery. Liquors. Metals. Piece goods. Spice. Timber and sandal-wood. Tobacco. Woollens.

From the NORTHERN CIRCARS.

Indigo. Rum. Grain. Piece goods.

From BENGAL.

Drugs. Ghee. Ginger. Grain. Indigo. Liquors. Opium. Raw silk. Sugar. Spice. Timber. Piece goods.

From OTHER PARTS.

(Besides articles enumerated.) Carnelions. Oils. Morva. Hides. Ivory ware. Copper wares. Mother of pearl. Skins. Dyes. Turtle-shell. Saltpetre. Arrack. Cowries. Shawls. Cottons and woollens. Gum lac. Turmeric. Precious stones. Rice.

PERIPLUS, supposed to be about A.D. 64.

Cloaks (*abollæ*). Common cloths. Adamant. Aloe (sandal wood). Silver plate. Arsenic. Aromatics. Bdellium (the gum). Striped cloths. Slaves. Oil of olives. Ivory. Spices. Girdles or sashes. Ginger. Mules. Incense. Horses. Gum-lac (*kankamus*). Gold coin (*kalbis*). Fine muslins (*karpasus*). Casia and cinnamon. Tin. Nard. Coverlids. Coral. Costus. Ladanon (the resin of a species of cistus). Linen. Porcelain (λιθία μυρρίνη). Crystal. Goa-stone. Opsian-stone. Alabaster. Box-thorn (for dyeing). Quilts. Pearls. Betel. Bark (μασσιξ). Knives or daggers. Brass or copper articles. Sugar. Honey-lotus. Purple cottons. Lead. Myrrh. Shell. Black silk, Chinese and Indian. Muslins. Wines. Awls and hatchets, for the African trade. Pepper. Pearls. Purples. Wheat. Cinnabar. Sapphires. Chinese furs. Iron. Stibium, for tinging the eye-lids black. Storax. Amethysts. Brass. Tortoise-shell. Chrysolite. Specie. Gold plate.*

* Vincent's Periplus, vol. i. Append. pp. 3—48. In the xxvIIth chapter of Ezekiel, there is what might almost be termed another

NATURAL HISTORY.

THE zoology of India is not less rich in species than the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. We shall not attempt either a scientific classification or a full description of the Indian animals. M. Malte Brun may be very correct in commencing with the *simiæ*; but the half-reasoning elephant, the royal tiger, the rhinoceros, and the camel, claim a precedence over the sacred apes and marshalled armies of monkeys.

In the elephants of India, there is considerable variety with regard to colour, size, and the length of their tusks. The prevailing colour is a blackish brown: the white variety, which is held sacred in Indo-China,*

inventory of the principal articles of the Indian trade, as carried on, overland, by Persian and Syrian merchants, and by sea, through the medium of the Sabean or Phenician traders, B.C. 588. Thus, from Dedan or Dadana, (ver. 15,) on the coast of Omaun, were brought horns (perhaps tortoise-shell), ivory, and ebony; also, (ver. 20,) precious clothes for horsemen (*abollæ?*) From Sheba (Saba) and Raamah (Rhegma in Omaun), were brought the chief spices, precious stones, and gold. From Dan (or Vadan), Javan (Yemen?), and Me-uzal, (which Michaelis also makes to be places in Arabia,) were brought wrought iron, cassia-lignea, and calamus aromaticus—either cinnamon or sugar-cane. And from Haran (Charræ), Canneh (Calneh in Shinar), and Eden in Mesopotamia, were brought blue hangings or robes, broidered work, chests of rich apparel—perhaps the *διφθέρσια*, *ζῶναι σκιωταί*, and *πορφύρα* of the Periplus. Nine hundred years before, we find some of the most precious productions of India had become familiar articles of Egyptian commerce. The "chief spices" referred to, Ezek. xxvii. 22, are probably the same that are distinctly enumerated Exod. xxx. 23, 34; viz. myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, cassia, stacte, onycha, galbanum, frankincense. And about 240 years still earlier (B.C. 1729), we find an Arabian caravan transporting to Egypt, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut, and the spices, probably, of India. Gen. xxxvii. 25. See, on this interesting subject of the early Indian trade, Vincent's Periplus, vol. i., Prel. Disq., and vol. ii. pp. 232, 3; 533—54. Also, Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. pp. 65—68.

* See Mod. Trav., Birmah, pp. 286—9.

is supposed to be an albino, the subject of disease. In the forests of the Ghauts, there are flocks of two or three hundred. In the Tiperah district of Bengal, they are also very numerous. Those of Chittagong are highly valued; but the most docile and handsome, though inferior in size, come from Ceylon. On the mountains in the north of India they are still smaller, seldom exceeding 7 feet in height, and they are caught chiefly for their teeth. The common height of the female elephant in India is from 7 to 8 feet; that of the male, from 8 to 10. The largest ever seen in the country, measured 10 feet 6 inches at the shoulder: it was caught in the year 1796, and belonged to the Nabob of Oude. The largest tusks of the Bengal elephant seldom exceed in weight 70 or 80 lbs. These gigantic animals, once so formidable in the field of battle, are now employed in the disciplined armies of India, only to drag cannon and carry ammunition, to set in motion heavy engines, or to bear on their broad backs the purple tent in which some nabob reclines on his gilded cushions. The height required by the Bengal Government, for the elephants purchased for the service of the army, is 9 feet.

The one-horned rhinoceros is also a native of Bengal, and is found especially in the islands at the mouths of the Ganges, where he is frequently seen in company with the tiger. These savage and very different animals, although they have no instinct for mutual association, are brought together by their respective physical habits. The tiger finds, in the jungle and underwood of the Sunderbunds, the coarse aliment on which he feeds, while the rhinoceros seeks amid mud and water a protection from the scorching heat. The royal Bengal tiger * attains a height of five feet, and

* Seneca, in his Œdipus, speaks of the *Gangetica tigris*. See Pennant's Hindoostan, vol. ii. p. 153.

is said to be able to clear by his fatal spring a hundred feet. Such is the size and strength of these formidable animals, that they have been known to carry off bullocks. The ground colour of a young or vigorous beast is almost a brilliant orange, with intensely black stripes.

From the ancient Indian records, there is reason to believe, that the lion (called *singh*) was formerly found in most parts of India. Most naturalists, however, doubt whether the African or long-maned lion be a native of this country.* The other varieties of the cat kind are very numerous. The *serwal*, or panther-cat, which is but little known, is found from the Deccan to Tibet. The *ounce*, the panther of Pliny, inhabits the central part of the Deccan and the province of Gujerat. In Bengal is found a peculiar species of panther, of a deep black colour, with the spots of a more intense black. The common tiger

* Mr. Pennant affirms, that near the fortress of Gwalior, and that of Rhotas Gur, in Agra, are "numbers of lions." "Those," he adds, "who deny that those animals were natives of India, assert that here was a royal menagerie, and that the breed was propagated from the beasts which had escaped. I find in Bernier (part iv. p. 48), that Aurungzebe frequently took the diversion of lion-hunting, but do not learn that the noble animal was ever turned out for the royal diversion. The *Ayeen Akbaree* relates many instances of the valour of Akbar the Great in his engagements with this tremendous animal, but is silent whether they had, or had not, been aborigines of Hindostan. Mr. Terry, in the vast forests near Mandoa, more than once saw lions, or heard them; they were also frequent about Malwah. These must have been their most southerly haunts, as the tract between Lahore and Cashmere is the most northerly, where they were the game of Aurungzebe····Possibly, they may have been extirpated in other parts of Hindoostan."—PENNANT'S *Hindoostan*, vol. ii. pp. 185, 6. See also *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 78. Jehangir, it is there remarked, records that he had killed several. If the *singh* actually means the true lion, and not the leopard, its having a Hindoo name would certainly indicate that it was a native of India.

abounds in the Ghauts of the Peninsula and in Ceylon. Leopards also are found, varying considerably in size and colour. One species, called the *chittah*, is trained for hunting wild deer. The lynx is peculiar to the northern provinces; but the *caracal*, a black-eared variety, makes its appearance in Bengal, which contains also two varieties of the tiger cat.* Hyenas (*cherruk*) are very numerous in Orissa and on both coasts of the Peninsula. Jackals are formidable in the interior provinces. Wolves are seen, particularly in the Ghauts, the Carnatic, and Malabar. Wild boars, of a vast size, of a brown and brindled colour, and very fierce, lodge in the jungles of Bengal.

In the northern district of Coimbetoor, there are a great number of black bears, which, however, are said to be very inoffensive, living chiefly on the white ants and the fruit of the palmyra.† But near Chittagong, there is a very ferocious species of bear, which rejects vegetable food. It is there called the wild dog. Its head is shaped like that of a dog, but bare, and red about the muzzle; its paws are like those of the common bear, but the coat is short and smooth. Bengal produces a particular species of fox, small and very agile. The jerboa, the musk rat, the striped mouse, and several peculiar species of the same genus; civets of two varieties; badgers, racoons, and ichneumons, are also to be added to this enumeration.

The musk-deer inhabits the mountains of the

* See Pennant's Hindoostan, vol. i. p. 51; vol. ii. pp. 246, 255. The *chittah* is the *guéparde* of Buffon, and the great *pardalis* of Oppian.

† This is probably a variety of the sloth, called *bradypus ursiformis*, which has a resemblance to the bear, and lives on ants. The two-toed sloth is found in Bengal and alongithe eastern shores. —PENNANT, vol. ii. p. 258.

Himalaya range, but its musk is not equal to that of the Chinese. Antelopes are numerous, especially the blue species called the *nylghau*, or *ros*, the hunting of which with leopards was the favourite sport of Tippoo Sultaun. A small white species called *dirdhagen*, the male of which has four horns, is perhaps the *oryx*.* Hares, rabbits, and martens abound in the northern provinces. The Malabar porcupine, called *pangolin*, is often kept tame in houses. Squirrels live in flocks on the Malabar coast. The large purple squirrel, which attaches itself particularly to the cocoa-palm, is found about Bombay; and the yellow squirrel lives in a gregarious state in the Gujerat. These animals are very destructive, but not more so than the large vampires and bats of all shapes and sizes, which infest Gujerat and the Coromandel coast.†

The monkeys of India are also of very gregarious and predatory habits. On the coast of Malabar, thousands of them come to the very centre of the villages, and commit great devastation: they are of almost every species. The gibbon ape is found chiefly in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast. The great ourang-outang is said to have been seen in the same parts, and in the Carnatic. The *radjakada* ape, with red face and black beard, is, in the eyes of the lower

* Mr. Pennant enumerates, the gazelle, a clumsy species with a hump, the *nilgau* or grey ox of the Indians, the common antelope, the smooth-horned variety, the Chinese antelope, and the beautiful spotted axis.—Vol. ii. pp. 242—7.

† "The flying *macauco* is co-tenant of the forests (of Gujerat). It wholly inhabits the trees. In descending, it spreads its membranes, and balances itself till it reaches the place it aims at; but, in ascending, it uses a leaping pace. Its food is the fruit of the country. This is the animal which Abulfazul calls a cat which will fly to a small distance."—PENNANT, vol. i. p. 68. See also *Ib.*, p. 101, and vol. ii. p. 260.

orders of Hindoos, a representative of their god Hunooman, the Indian Pan, who is believed to be an incarnation of Shivu or Seeva. Having assumed that form, he placed himself at the head of an army of monkeys for the assistance of the god Rama, and materially contributed to the discomfiture of Ravan, king of the giants, and sovereign of Ceylon. His name is said to be derived from *hunoo*, the cheek-bone; Hunooman having broken his cheek-bone by a fall from the sun's orbit.* It may be supposed, that this species has something peculiar about the conformation of the cheek-bones. Alexander's army met with a body of monkeys so astonishingly numerous, that, mistaking them for a hostile nation, they prepared to give them battle. Of true monkeys, the green monkey, an "elegant species," the talapoin, the *monea*, and the tawny, a malevolent species, are all found in India; together with the pigmy ape, the "fierce and malignant lion-tailed ape," the *golok*, and some other species of a large size, very dangerous when insulted.† Mr. Pennant says, that the hunting-leopard (or *yus*) runs up the trees, and makes great havoc among the monkeys.

The ox and the cow are treated with as much religious veneration in India, as they were in ancient Egypt. "Persons strict in their religion," Mr. Ward

* Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. 251. Mr. Ward describes Hunooman as a black-faced monkey. "About twenty years ago," he says in 1815, "the Rajah of Nudeeya (in Bengal) spent 100,000 rupees in marrying two monkeys, with all the parade common to Hindoo marriages." Before that time, none of this species were to be seen in that district. "Now, they are so numerous, that they devour almost all the fruit of the orchards, as the inhabitants are afraid of hurting them." The account of Hunooman's adventure at the head of his monkey army, is given in the Ramayuna.

† Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 251—3.

says, "worship the cow daily;" and an annual festival is celebrated in her honour.* The sainted species, which is very handsome in Gujerat, Malwah, and Bengal, is distinguished from the European breed, only by a fatty protuberance on the back. It is the *zebu* or *bos Indicus* of naturalists, and is described as being of a white colour, small size, active and well-proportioned, with large perpendicular horns. The British Government in India have paid considerable attention to the improvement of the breed of bullocks for their ordnance; but there are only two districts in the Bengal Presidency, in which are bred bullocks of the size required; the Purneah district of Bengal and the Sarun district of Bahar. Those in the former district are of a large size, well-formed, and very strong and active; much superior to the draught cattle in the lower parts of Bengal. The Sarun bullocks are not quite equal in size and quality. Upwards of 5000 from these districts are employed by the Bengal Government for the conveyance of artillery, camp-equipage, &c., besides elephants and camels.† In the neighbourhood of Surat and in Ceylon, there are oxen no larger than mastiffs. The buffalo is found through-

* See Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. 249. Bramha is said to have created the Bramhuns and the cow at the same time. The cow is termed the mother of the gods. The touch of a cow purifies from defilement. The ox and cow were anciently regarded as symbols of the productive energies of nature, emblems of the sun and moon. These mythological notions seem to have passed away in India; and we cannot but regard the religious honours now paid to the cow, as the *residuum* of an idolatry more ancient than the present system.

† In the year 1806, there were found to be, in the ceded districts, 1,198,613 black cattle, and 1,147,492 buffaloes. In Bengal, there were supposed to be, of both kinds, above 50 millions. From the Choteesgur district of Gujerat, where the bullocks are reckoned to be the strongest, swiftest, and handsomest in India, they export, in favourable seasons, 100,000 bullocks.

out southern India; and among the Ghaut mountains, as well as in the Himalaya, is a species called *arni*, said to be 6 feet in height, with horns of enormous length. The *yak* is peculiar to the northern provinces. Milk, *ghee* (clarified butter),* and cheese are the produce of the cows and female buffaloes. Some cows, however, Mr. Ward says, are of more value for their dung than for their milk, for the Bengal cow gives very little milk, compared with the European. The dung is used for purposes of ritual purification and for fuel. Some cheese is made in Gujerat and other parts of Hindostan Proper, but it is of very inferior quality. In various parts of Gujerat, Cutch, and the Deccan, there is a particular tribe whose chief employment is selling milk and husbandry labour.

Camels are bred in the delta of the Indus. On the sea-beach and sandy slips in that part of Gujerat which is separated from the main land by the Run, they are suffered to run wild among the jungles, the tender parts of the brushwood serving them as pasture; they are, however, of an inferior description. The Arabian camel (with one hump) is not unfrequently to be met with about Patna and Manghir, in Mooltan and in Tatta. In this last province, the author of the *Ayeen Akbaree* saw herds consisting of some thousands. The two-humped or Bactrian camel is also said to live in a state of natural liberty in the northern provinces.

Comparatively little use is made of the horse in India, except for the saddle. The native breed is a small, ill-shaped, vicious pony, in some parts not exceeding 30 inches in height, particularly on the con-

* Ghee is made of butter which has been kept for two or three days, when it becomes rancid; it is then melted in an earthen pot, and boiled till all the water has evaporated; after which it is poured into pots or leathern jars, and kept for use.

fines of Nepaul, where it is called the *goot* or *gunt*. Mr. Pennant describes the *tattoo* horses of Bengal as about ten hands high, slender and elegant, yet strong, and much used to carry men and baggage. *Joorkeys* and *tagees* are horses about fourteen or fifteen hands high, fit for either draft or saddle, and supposed to be a foreign breed naturalised. The Mahratta horses, used for their formidable cavalry, are "very scrubby, but active," and swift. Wild horses of a hardy and useful breed, of middle size, thick and strong, and singulary pied or spotted, are brought from Tibet and the banks of the *Bont-su*, in Nepaul: they are called *tangans*, and are used in the shaft, but not for the saddle. The countries about Caubul send great numbers of horses of Tatarian breeds to the great annual fairs of that city, whence they are dispersed over the northern provinces of India. In some parts of the country, however, the native breed is of a better sort. The province of Lahore, according to Pennant, is celebrated for its breed; introduced originally, as it would seem, by the Mogul sovereigns. The Emperor Akbar had constantly 12,000 horses in his stables, brought chiefly from Arabia, Persia, and other foreign parts.* In the Choteesgur district of Gundwana, brood mares of the *tattoo* species are kept in considerable numbers, but it is not superior to that of Bengal. On the banks of the Beemah river, however, there is a beautiful and excellent breed, of a middle size, generally of a dark bay colour with black

* Pennant, i. 41; ii. 239. It has been ascertained, that the horse degenerates, both in size and qualities, in low and moist situations; while, in dry and moderately elevated situations, it thrives and attains a good size. Some of the Bengal horses are said to be no larger than mastiffs. In the mountainous districts of Nepaul, though not much superior in size, they are considerably more active and handsome.

legs, which are highly esteemed by the Mahrattas: they are called Beemarteddy horses, from the district in which they are bred. In Aurungabad, also, great numbers are reared for the Mahratta cavalry, which are hardy, but neither strong nor handsome. In that part of Bahar which borders on Nepaul, a great number of horses are bred for the British cavalry; and since attention has been paid to the breeding of them in this part, many of the very best qualities have been reared, particularly in the districts of Tyrpoot and Hajypoor; and they are in such request, that horse-dealers from Upper Hindostan frequent the fairs at Hurdwan and other places, to purchase them. The British Government frequently obtain excellent horses also from Lahore and from some districts in Gujerat.

In some parts of Bengal, the Carnatic, and the Balaghaut, the ass is a common and useful animal. It is a small species, the colour varying: some of them are entirely black, and it is remarked of these, that "there is no appearance of the cross on their shoulder." Herds of wild asses are sometimes seen near the mountains in the northern provinces, which have descended from the highlands of Tibet; and these are sometimes found as far south as the Deccan.* The Hindoos, for the most part, like the Europeans, attach an idea of extreme meanness to the use of asses for riding. Nor is the milk of the ass ever used.

The sheep of India, Mr. Pennant states, "are covered

* "The *dshikketaer*, or wild mule, and the *koulan*, or wild ass, may justly be reckoned among the animals of India: they are both found within its borders, in the vast sandy desert of Gobi. The *koulans* collect towards autumn in herds of hundreds, and even thousands, and direct their course to the north of India, to enjoy a warm retreat during winter. Barboga, as quoted by Pallas, says, that they penetrate even to the mountains of Malabar and Golconda."—PENNANT'S *View*, vol. ii. p. 240.

with hair, instead of wool, except towards the very northern parts." M. Malte Brun says: "The Indian sheep is distinguished from the European by his reverted horns and the *silkiness* of his wool. This breed is found all over India, excepting towards the extremity of the Peninsula. Ctesias was acquainted with the riches of Northern India in the article of wool. When he assures us, that the sheep of these countries were as large as the Grecian asses, and that they were employed as beasts of burden, he speaks of the sheep so common in Cashmere, and which the inhabitants call *hundoo*. The true Cashmerian sheep, a delicate animal, furnishes the fine wool used in the manufacture of shawls. In Moultan, the *bhara*, or thick-tailed sheep, is also found; and the Tibet sheep, so highly prized for the quality of its wool: this precious article consists of the interior or shorter hair. In the kingdom of Assam, the rams have four horns. Finally, India contains also the *argali*, or wild sheep; the *capra ammon* of Pennant. Gujerat and Cutch contain many goats, both wild and tame. The Cashmere goat furnishes very fine hair for shawls.* In the mountains and forests of Orissa, Telinga, Berar, and Malabar, the goat is met with, from which bezoar is obtained; a morbid concretion formed in the intestines, presenting the appearance of a mineral, and valued in Asia for certain supposed medicinal qualities." †

* Pennant describes "the shawl-goat" as characterised by smooth horns, with a single spiral twist, and between them a long tuft of white hairs; face white, bounded lengthways with a dark line; cheeks, pale red; hind part of the head and neck, fore part of the throat, and the beard, white; rest of the hair, black; all very long; straight ears, white and pendent."—PENNANT'S *View*, ii. 242.

† Malte Brun, vol. iii. pp. 39, 40. Bezoar is a name derived from the Persian *pdzehr*, an antidote. The species of mountain-goat in which it is found, is called in Persia, *pdzen*. The Arabians write the name of the stone, *fauzehr*. It is composed of concentric coats

Sheep are numerous in the Mysore, where they are of three varieties, red, black, and white. The shepherds and their families live with their flocks, the women and children sleeping under huts made of leaves or basket-work, about 6 feet in diameter. In the Peninsula, there are most sheep bred in the Aranansi district of Coimbetoor. Mr. Pennant mentions a species called *cabrito* by the Portuguese, distinguished by its very long legs, and of a most disgusting appearance, which, he says, is sometimes saddled and bridled at Goa, and will carry a child twelve years of age. This must be the *hundoo* above mentioned.* Swine were common in the Mysore till they were almost extirpated by Hyder Ali. They are not now numerous in any part of Hindostan, either domestic or wild.

The ornithology of India presents a numerous and splendid variety. This is the native country of the peacock. These birds exist in almost every part, in a wild state, and are much larger than elsewhere, producing also a greater number of eggs. The historians of Alexander mention the delight and surprise with which that conqueror first beheld this magnificent bird, and he forbade their being killed under severe penalties. Near Cambay, and in different parts of Malabar, they are particularly numerous. † Mr.

of a calculous concretion, with a little cavity in the centre, containing a bit of wood, straw, or other such substance. The oriental kind is of the size of a walnut, of a shining dark green, or olive colour, smooth and shining. There are various kinds of bezoars, animal and fossil, as well as artificial.

* Pennant, vol. i. p. 101. In the year 1806, the number of sheep in the ceded districts amounted to 1,147,492, and the goats to 694,633. Those in Allahabad and on the Coromandel coast are small, and of quality inferior even to those of Bengal.—Brewster's *Ency.*

† The peacock, Mr. Pennant says, inhabits most parts of India,

Forbes says, they feed upon serpents. Pennant speaks of the Tibet peacock, which he supposes to be the same species as the *iris* peacock of Latham. He also mentions, among the birds of Eastern Hindostan, the horned turkey, the head of which is furnished with two callous horns, falling back and reverting at the ends, and two broad, long dewlaps pendent one from each side of the bill. The colour of the body is orange, marked with pearl-shaped drops of white: on each leg is a strong spur. Another species or variety has the head covered with long black feathers in form of a crest, and, from the resplendency of its colours, is called *moory manmoorsi*, the bright bird.* Among the gallinaceous tribes of Northern India, is a species of pheasant, the colours of which are of "matchless

adding highly to the beauty of its rich forests, as well as some of the islands, as high as lat. 31° 14′, if it is yet found on the Rauvee. Ælian states, that it was imported from India into Greece by the barbarians. A male and a female were valued at Athens at a thousand *drachmæ*. (about 32*l*.) Samos appears to have been one of the first places in Europe to which they were brought: here they were preserved about the temple of Juno, being sacred to that goddess, as they are in India to Kartikayu, the son of Shivu and Doorga. Their use was, however, subsequently permitted to mortals; and Gellius, in the *Noctes Atticæ*, commends the excellency of the Samian peacocks. They were known in Judæa many years before the era of Alexander, being enumerated among the precious things imported by the Tharshish fleets in their three years' voyage to and from Ophir. 1 Kings, x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21. Harmer, after Reland and others, would make *thukkim* (or *tugiim*) to be Ethiopian parrots; but Bochart has proved the propriety of the received rendering. On the Malabar coast, the name of the peacock is said to be still *togei*.—See PENNANT'S *View*, vol. i. p. 211, 12. CALMET'S *Dict.*, *art.* Peacock, and GESENIUS'S *Lex.*

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 344—6. The turkey, according to the most received opinion, is originally from America. Yet, remarks M. Malte Brun, this bird is called in German, the "cock of Calicut;" and the question of its origin appears deserving of fresh examination.

metallic brilliancy:" it measures two feet in length. On the hind part of the head is an upright crest composed of feathers terminated with spear-shaped heads. There is also a black pheasant of the size of our black cock, the bill much hooked. The common fowl is found in the jungles, and is called the jungle-bird; and the wild cock, with vari-coloured feathers which shine like gold, is found in the Ghauts and the adjacent forests.* There are also four elegant species of partridge or quail.

The finest eagles, vultures, and falcons† are found in the northern provinces. The griffin and bearded vultures appear to be natives of Siberia, where the Mongolian princes keep numbers of them for the pur-

* "That now universal bird, the origin of our poultry, derives its descent from the Indian stock. They arrived in our very distant island before the time of Julius Cæsar, who tells us, that they were a food forbidden to the Britons. Aristophanes calls the cock, the Persian bird; and adds, that it enjoyed that kingdom before Darius and Megabyzus. It then travelled westward from the neighbouring Hindostan. They probably were imported into Britain by the Phenicians. Poultry, in a state of nature, are found in great numbers in most of the jungles in Hindostan, and are excessively wild: they are small as bantams. The females are of plain colours, and resemble a large partridge. The cocks are of a brilliant red, and resplendent with a rich gloss of gold."—PENNANT, vol. ii. pp. 269, 70.

† Mr Pennant says: "The falcons of this country are, the Chinese, the Cheala, (both large species,) and the crested Indian." Vol. ii. p. 38. He elsewhere mentions, "the great Indian falcon, brown, with broad black bands on the wings." Also, among the hawks, an elegant black and orange species, not seven inches long, yet trained for falconry; the *mool-cheen*, a little green bird, no bigger than a sparrow, that can bring down a crane, which was used by Akbar; the *criard*, about the size of a wood-pigeon, which haunts the rice-fields, and preys on frogs and other reptiles, and at the sight of man sets up a loud cry; the European goshawk; and a blue variety of the peregrine falcon.—*Ib.* pp. 260, 1. See also, for an account of other varieties of this genus in Ceylon, vol. i. p. 204.

poses of falconry. The finest hawks come from Cashmere and Northern India. The neighbourhood of Pondicherry abounds with different species of vulture; and here is found in great numbers the Braminey kite, or Pondicherry eagle, which has received the former name on account of the high veneration in which it is held by the Brahmins.* The body is chestnut-coloured, the rest of the plumage white. It is of the size of the common English kite, which is also found in great numbers in the Peninsula all the year round; and, with the hooded crow, feeds in the very streets. But in Bengal, the kites retire to the mountains during the rains, and return in the dry season, "telling that the rains are past." "As to the crows," says Mr. Pennant, "their familiarity and audacity are amazing: they frequent the courts of the Europeans, and, as the servants are carrying in dinner, will alight on the dishes, and carry away the meat, if not driven away by persons who attend with sticks for that purpose." The rooks and ravens are regarded by the Hindoos as symbols of the soul in a state of separation from the body: the *ardigigas* are believed to be inhabited by the souls of Brahmins.

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 90. It is called by the natives *Shunkura chillu*, and is considered as an incarnation of Doorga. The Hindoos bow to it whenever it passes them. Mr. Ward calls it the white-headed kite or Coromandel eagle. The wag-tail, called *khunjunu*, "considered as a form of Vishnoo, on account of the mark on its throat, supposed to resemble the *salgram*," is honoured in the same manner. The peacock, the goose, and, though an unclean bird, the owl, are worshipped at particular festivals, as vehicles of certain deities. Gurooru, the carrier of Vishnoo, who ranks as a deity, and is called the king of birds, is represented with the head and wings of a bird and the body of a man. Some suppose a large species of vulture to be the bird intended by his superior part; others, the gigantic crane. See WARD'S *Hindoos*, vol. i. ch. xi.

Owls are very numerous in some parts. On the coast of Malabar, they form flocks consisting of some thousands. Among the various species, Mr. Pennant mentions the great horned species of Ceylon; the Coromandel, a small species; the English white owl, a beautiful bird; and the "double-eared," a new and large species, with two pairs of long tufts of feathers, wings and back grey, spotted, and breast pale grey.*

Of the pies, there are endless varieties. In the Deccan, there are said to be no fewer than fifty kinds of parrot.† "The parroquets of Malabar are remark-

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 39.

† Mr. Pennant says, including those of the islands, the Indian species amount to 53: of these he describes several, vol. ii. pp. 262-3. See also vol. i. p. 205. This bird was in great request among the Greeks and Romans; and Ælian notices its being esteemed sacred by the Brahmins. One species has received the name of the Alexandrine, from the supposition that it was the same kind that was seen by Alexander the Great. Quintus Curtius states, as something remarkable, that he met with birds in India which could be taught to imitate the human voice. Arrian, however, a far better informed writer, says: "Nearchus tells us of parrots bred in India, as a great rarity there, and takes much pains to describe the several qualities of that bird, particularly his imitating men's words. But, as I have seen many of these myself, and know them to be common enough, I shall forbear speaking of them as a rarity. Neither shall I add any thing of the vast size of the apes there, their exceeding beauty, or the manner of taking them: these are all too well known to bear a description."—ROOKE's *Arrian*, vol. ii. p. 219. The association of apes with parrots, will recall the apes and peacocks of King Solomon. The name of this bird in Persian, is *tidak*, whence, apparently, the *βιττακος* of Ctesias. The Latin *psittacus* is deduced from another Persian word, *tidak*. This bird does not appear to be mentioned in the Old Testament, unless it is comprehended under the *tugiim*. Pliny writes the word *settace*, describing the species alluded to, which, he says, was sent from India, as wholly green, except a red circle round the neck. He also mentions its talking qualities. Ovid pathetically deplores the loss of a favourite parrot (*Amor. Eleg.* ii. 6)—"*Psittacus imitatrix ab Indis*," &c. The heads of parrots and pheasants was a dish at the table of the imperial glutton, Heliogabalus.

ably handsome: the head, shaded with red, purple, and blue, finishes in a black circle round the neck, whence, to its long, tapering tail, the plumage is a lively green. The parrots are not so beautiful. Their number is astonishing: they are as much dreaded at the time of harvest, as a Mahratta army, or a host of locusts; they darken the air by their numbers, and, alighting on a rice field, in a few hours carry off every ear of ripe corn to their hiding-places in the mountains."* A most elegant species of cockatoo is described by Pennant as inhabiting Gujerat and some other parts; it is white, with the under side of the crest crimson, and of the size of a raven. "They are called *kakatuas* from their note; are very familiar, easily tamed and taught to speak; they breed in great numbers in even the cities of India, the buildings of which are frequently so intermixed with trees, that the traveller scarcely discovers the streets till he has got into them. The cockatoos are so domesticated, as to make their nests under the eaves of the houses, undisturbed by the haunt of man. They are not confined to the continent, but extend as far as Amboyna."†

The Malabar shrike is distinguished by the singular feathers in the tail. "From the end of the exterior of each side feather, the shaft is continued naked nearly six inches, and the end dilated into an oval web; the head is furnished with an elegant crest with tips inclining backward. The colour is universally black. It inhabits most parts of India: those of Malabar are the size of a thrush; those of Bengal large as a jackdaw. They fly heavily, and are seen only in the evening."‡ In another part of his work, Mr.

* Forbes's Orient. Memoirs, vol. i. p. 359.
† Pennant, vol. ii. p. 40. ‡ Ib. p. 39.

Pennant characterises the Bengal shrike or butcher-bird as having its plumage glossed with purple, and on the neck a hackle of blue feathers. A "new species" is described under the name of "the fighting *bulbul*," as about the size of a blackbird; the bill, head, and legs, black; the body and wings cinereous; the feathers edged with black; the tail black, tipped with white; the breast a rich scarlet; on the head a rising crest. "This species, like all the rest, as the generic name (shrike) implies, has probably a most harsh noise; yet is called *bulbul*, the Persian name for nightingale." It it called the fighting *bulbul*, because it is trained for battle for the amusement of the natives.* "Many of the grakles of the East Indies," it is added, "are remarkable for speaking, singing, and whistling, even much more distinctly, than the parrot kind; and they soon become familiar. They are of a black colour, their heads surrounded with a naked yellow skin. The *dial* grakle is trained in Sumatra for fighting, but the conflicts are performed in the air on wing."

"The eastern cuckoo is as large as a magpie: they fly in flocks, are highly venerated by the Mohammedans, and sought after by the epicures. There are two or three other black species, which in India are called *coweels*.† The English cuckoo reaches Bengal. It is observable, out of the multitude of cuckoos, none have the note of the European."

The Indian *merops* arrives on the banks of the Ganges in the beginning of autumn. The Coromandel bee-eater is remarkable for its almost uniform pale yellow colour. The long-billed creeper, or honey-sucker,

* Pennant, vol. i. p. 261.

† A black species as large as a jackdaw, the bill much hooked; and the lark-heeled cuckoo, of a rust colour; are specified.

perches on the rich flowers of India, and, darting its tongue into the calyx, extracts the sweets. The head and part of the neck, in this species, are of a light green; forepart of the neck, white; back and wings, dusky; breast, yellow; the bill an inch and a half long. Bengal has also another species, very small, yellow-winged, with a long tongue. Of rollers, there are various species, all of the richest colours. "Among grotesque birds, may be reckoned the two species of *buceros*, or horn-bill; the rhinoceros, called by the Dutch, from its singular recurvated, accessary beak, *dubbeld-bek*; and the wreathed, called in Ceylon the year-bird, being supposed to have annually an addition of wreath to its bill. They make a great noise when they fly, and have a sluggish flight; perch on the highest trees; feed on berries, and are reckoned very sweet food. The golden oriole, a European bird, is called, in India, the *mango*, from its feeding on the fruit of that tree. The European *hoopoo* is common in Ceylon. Our common nut-hatch, and creeper, the wheat-ear, the wry-neck, the yellow wren, the house-swallow, the wood-cock, and the snipe, are also natives of India."*

To the various genera of pies already enumerated, there remain to be added, "the fasciated and the spotted *curucui*" (*trogon*), and the little bird of paradise, which is common in the Ghaut mountains, and in Malabar. Mr. Forbes, speaking of the "pied bird of Paradise" (*picus orientalis*) as common in the An-

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 264; vol. i. pp. 204, 5. Ceylon appears to have some beautiful species peculiar to itself, or now only found there. The Ceylon creeper and the green-gold are elegant little birds. The parrot tribes are numerous. The peacock "swarms" in the island. The yellow-crowned thrush is kept there in cages, and is remarkable for its powers of mimicking every note that is whistled to it.

jengo district of Travancore, says: "Its elegant form, purple crest, snowy plumage, and long tail, constitute it one of the most beautiful in the Indian ornithology."*

Among birds of the passerine order, there is one very remarkable for its economy and social habits;—a grosbeak (*loxia philippina*) of the hang-nest tribe. It is the *olomari* of the Malabars, but its Sanscrit name is *berbere* (*babia* in the Bengalee), and it is called *baya* in Hindostanee. It is of the size of a sparrow, with yellowish brown plumage, yellowish head and feet, light-coloured breast, and very thick conical bill. It chiefly frequents the cocoa-nut trees, or the palmyra and Indian fig, being partial to a lofty site for its nest; and it prefers a tree that overhangs a well or rivulet. Its nest is very curiously constructed, of grass, or the long fibres of plants, which it weaves like cloth, and shapes like a large bottle; suspending it, by means of a sort of cord nearly half an ell in length, to the extremity of a slender branch, the entrance downwards, in order to secure it against snakes and birds of prey. This hanging nest, though it rocks with the wind, is so strongly secured as never to suffer injury. The interior usually consists of three nest chambers or divisions: in the first, or forepart, the male keeps watch, while, in the second, the female hatches the eggs, and the inmost division contains the young. In the outer apartment, a little tough clay, or cow-dung, is always stuck against one side, on the top of which are fixed fire-flies; and it is the popular belief, that the proprietor of the nest catches these insects alive at night, and imprisons them in this manner, to afford him light. That such flies are

* Forbes's Or. Mem., vol. i. p. 360.

found so confined, is indubitable; but, as their light can hardly be imagined to be of use to their captor, the more credible explanation is, that these insects are the food of the bird. The *baya* is a great favourite in Hindostan. "It is," says a native naturalist, "astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master....It may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper or any small thing that his master points out. It is an attested fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it reaches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that, if a house or any other place be shewn to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye-witness of it. The young Hindoo women at Benares and in other places, wear very thin plates of gold, called *tioas*, slightly fixed by way of ornament between their eyebrows;* and when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training *bayas*, to give them a sign which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to their lovers. The *baya* feeds naturally on grasshoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water. The female lays many beautiful eggs resem-

* The same description of ornaments is probably alluded to, Isa. iii. 18, under the name of *shebaseem* or *nethaphs*.

bling pearls: the white of them, when boiled, is transparent, and their flavour exquisitely delicate. When many *bayas* are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din; but it is chirping, rather than singing. Their want of musical talents is, however, amply compensated by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitant of the forest." *

Among the other passerines, Mr. Pennant specifies the pagoda-thrush, "esteemed among the finest choristers of India,—it sits perched on the sacred pagodas, and thence delivers its melodious song;" the Chinese thrush, found in Bengal, "where it is called the five brothers, being usually seen in flocks of five;" the Dauma thrush, called in Bengal, *cowal*, from its note; the "lovely finch;" the pied fly-catcher, so highly esteemed in Bengal for its song, that it is named *shawbul*, or king of the singing-birds;† a very diminutive red-headed swallow, not exceeding in size a humming-bird; the European chimney swallow, and several new species; ‡ the Bombay and the Indian goat-sucker; and (in Ceylon) a curious bird of the warbler tribe, called, on account of its wonderful nest, the tailor bird, which deserves a more particular notice.

"The brute creation in the torrid zone," remarks Mr. Pennant, "are more at enmity with one another, than in other climates; and the birds are obliged to exert unusual artifice in placing their little broods out

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 109.

† In describing the birds of Ceylon, Mr. Pennant speaks of two fly-catchers distinguished by their enormous length of tail, darting through the air like arrows.

‡ "Swallows (I do not know the species) never leave Ceylon."—PENNANT, vol. i. p. 207. The Ceylon yellow-crowned thrush has been mentioned in a preceding note. Also the wagtail (*motacilla*), a sacred bird which Mr. Pennant does not notice.

of the reach of an invader. Each aims at the same end, though by different means. Some form their pensile nest in shape of a purse, deep and open at top; others, with a hole in the side; and others, still more cautious, with an entrance at the very bottom, forming their lodge near the summit. But the little species we describe, seems to have greater diffidence than any of the others: it will not trust its nest even to the extremity of a slender twig, but makes one more advance to safety, by fixing it to the leaf itself. It picks up a dead leaf, and, surprising to relate, sews it to the side of a living one, its slender bill being its needle, and its thread, some fine fibres; the lining, feathers, gossamer, and down. Its eggs are white. The colour of the bird is light yellow; its length, three inches; its weight, only three-sixteenths of an ounce; so that the materials of the nest, and its own size, are not likely to draw down a habitation that depends on so slight a tenure." *

Pigeons in India assume the most beautiful colours. The pompadour pigeon of Ceylon has, for its general colour, a fine pale green, but the male is distinguished by wings of a fine pompadour. This species is particularly attached to the banyan-tree. They are excellent eating. The domestic pigeon of Europe is very common on the continent, and in the time of Akbar, the utmost attention was paid to their breed. That emperor was the greatest pigeon-fancier of his day, and kept prodigious numbers, as well as an aviary of all sorts of birds."†

There yet remain to be noticed, the aquatic tribes,

* Pennant, vol. i. pp. 206, 7.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 268. For the regard paid to the pigeon in Mohammedan countries, see Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. ii. p. 167. The Sanscrit name of the pigeon is *paravata*.

some of which are highly beautiful. Various species of the *ardea* genus arrive in Bengal before the rainy season, and retire at the approach of the dry. Among these, Mr. Pennant enumerates the common crane; the beautiful Indian crane; the *demoiselle*, which, as well as the Indian, is seen in vast flocks on the banks of the Ganges; the hunch-back, a new species of large size, all black except the white neck and legs of a dirty yellow, the shoulders so elevated as to appear a deformity; and the great heron, or gigantic crane, called at Calcutta, the *argali* or adjutant. This enormous bird is by some supposed to be the deified carrier of Vishnoo, named *Gurooru*. It is held in the highest veneration, both in India and Africa. The Indians, Mr. Pennant says, believe them to be invulnerable, for that they are animated with the souls of Brahmins. It grows to the height of from five to seven feet, when erect; has an immense, strong, pointed bill, 16 inches round at the base; and the wings extend nearly 15 feet from tip to tip. It is a bird of filthy aspect; the craw red, naked, and pendulous; the feathers of the back and wings very strong, and of an iron colour; the belly covered with down of a dirty white; the legs and half the thighs naked. At a distance, as it stalks majestically along, it may be mistaken for a naked Hindoo. It is a most useful bird, clearing the country of snakes and other noxious reptiles and insects. In Bengal, it finishes the work begun by the jackal and vulture: they clear the carcasses of animals of the flesh; the *argali* swallows the bones entire.* These birds are undaunted at the sight of man, and familiar as if conscious of the regard entertained for them.

* On opening one of these "monstrous" birds, a *terapin*, or land tortoise, ten inches long, was found in its craw; and a large male black cat was found entire in its stomach. The gape of this bird is tremendous. They are met with in companies.

The *Lohaugung* heron is a large and elegant species, with bill long, slender, and black; head and neck black; the rest of the plumage white; legs very long and red. The Coromandel heron is a small white species, the neck and back of the head a fine pale yellow. The violet heron, or *monichjore*, is about three feet in length, entirely of a bluish black glossed with violet, except the space from the eyes to the breast, which is of a snowy whiteness; it is the object of falconry, and is esteemed good eating. There are two species of open-beaked heron (*bec-ouvert* of Pondicherry and Coromandel), 15 inches in length; one white-backed, the other wholly white except the back, which is black. To these are to be added, the small white heron called *caboga*, with a yellow bill and black legs; the yellow-necked heron, with a pendulous black crest; the cinnamon, a new species; the yellow-slippered egret, with plumage of a pure white, black legs, and yellow feet; the great white egret; the European heron; several species of bittern; the stork; and the *nyaticorax*; all frequenting the plains of the Ganges.

The other *grallæ* comprehend an equal variety. The Indian *jabiru*, a distinct species from the American, is of large size, and feeds on snails. The great white-headed ibis, called at Calcutta the *junghil*, is common: the pink feathers of the tail are there used by the ladies as a head-dress. This bird makes a snapping noise with its bill: it loses its fine roseate colour in the rainy season. The black-headed ibis is of the size of a heron; it is called *buttore*. There is a third species of the same size, with long, yellow bill, wings pale brown, black tail, and pink legs. There are various species of snipes. Among the plovers are, the long-legged plover,—a genus common to India, the West

Indies, and Europe; the golden plover; the Indian, which does not exceed the size of a lark; and the passarage plover of Bengal,—a beautiful bird, 18 inches in length, the plumage delicately reticulated with the finest lines of black and brown, inclosing meshes of a full black; on the head, a most elegant crest, consisting of four pairs of capillary feathers of unequal length, terminating in spear-shaped tufts. Among the other *genera*, Mr. Pennant mentions, the *vappi-pi jaoana*, "a fine bird as large a golden pheasant; the courier (*cursorius Asiaticus*), a rare bird; and the blue gallinule, called by the ancients, *porphyrio*, and in the language of Malabar, *pidaramkoli*.* This last bird may be recognised in the rude attempts at painting in the Indian and Chinese drawings.

Of the web-footed tribes, the flamingo is common on the banks of the Ganges; the great white pelican, and the roseate, are seen in vast numbers; and the *pelicanus onocratalus*, a large Asiatic pelican, is found in Malabar. The black-bellied *anpinga* lurks in thick bushes by the water side, and darting out its long and slender neck, terrifies passengers with the idea of some serpent about to inflict on them a fatal wound. The barred-head goose arrives by hundreds in Bengal, in the wet season, from Tibet, and departs at the approach of summer; it rests among the cornfields, in the upper country, and is very destructive to the grain; its flesh is esteemed. The back part of the neck is marked with two black crescents; the back and tail are of a fine pale grey; the front of the neck, black; the head and throat, white; the legs, orange. The grey-headed goose is a species common to India and Africa. The pink-headed duck has its bill, head,

* In Sanscrit, according to Mr. Ward, the *datyoohu*.

and part of the neck of a fine pink; the rest of the plumage of a deep chocolate: it is usually seen in pairs, and is domesticated for the table. Besides these, the falcated duck, the English garganey, and other species of the *anas* genus, migrate into Bengal. The black skimmer is common to North America and the Coromandel coast; and gulls and terns of different kinds are numerous.*

"The Ganges," says Mr. Pennant, "swarms with infinite quantities of fishes; but I do not observe that the *genera* are numerous. The species which abound most, are those of the *cyprinus* or carp kind: of them, I observe the English chub, and I have heard of the common carp of great size. The *anjana* is a small species taken in large numbers, dried, and sent up the country for sale. A singular apodal fish (the cheetel), found near Dacca, is about three feet long; head small and much depressed; back greatly elevated; near the lower part, a single fin of five rays, ventral, begins not remote from the mouth, and unites with that of the tail, which ends rounded; colour, a yellowish white, dark on the back. The genus of *silurus* is extremely numerous: among them are some undescribed and very curious."† But, of all the kinds

* Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 41, 2; 156—160; 271; and vol. i. p. 212. In the article India, in Brewster's Encyclopædia, among the few birds specified, is the *Eigrus*, described as "the largest of aquatic birds, found among the lakes to the north of Hindostan Proper, where it is kept by the natives in their gardens for the purpose of picking up the vermin." Dr. Fryer mentions two birds which he calls *colum* and *serass*, supposed by Mr. Pennant to be of the crane kind, which are remarkable for a duplicature of the wind-pipe, in the form of a French horn: in the *colum*, the duplicature is double; in the *serass*, single. They come in vast flights from "Mount Caucasus," at the approach of the cold.—PENNANT, vol. ii. p. 155.

† Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 317, 18.

found either in this river or in any other part of India, the most delicate and high-flavoured is the mango fish (the *polynemus paradiseus* of Linnæus), which has received that name, "either from its brilliant orange colour, like a ripe mango, or from its coming up the river in the mango season." It is about nine inches in length, and is distinguished by seven thick bristles issuing from near the gills. These fish first appear about Calcutta, in June, and after spawning, return to the sea in six weeks. They are highly esteemed by the Anglo-Indians, especially during the time that they are full of roe. The other kinds in highest repute for their flavour, with Europeans, are the cockup and the sable-fish. The coast of Chittagong is celebrated for oysters, small, but of an excellent flavour, which are sent to Dacca and Calcutta. Oysters are also plentiful in the rivers of Cochin. Turtle are found in the Ganges, but they are small, and of inferior quality. The salmon frequents the coast and the rivers of Malabar, and pilchards in immense numbers are found on that coast. Such is the abundance of fish on both coasts of the Peninsula, that pigs, dogs, and even horses are sometimes fed on them.* In the Alaknunda river, among numerous fish of the carp genus, is one, *cyprinus denticulatus*, about seven or eight feet in length, which is distinguished by its beauty. The scales on the back and sides are very large, and of a fine green, with a bright gold edge; the belly is white, with a slight golden tinge; the tail and fins of a dark bronze. The flavour is very delicate and rich. Many of these fish are so remarkably tame, that they will take bread

* On the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, the domestic animals are fed chiefly on fish; and the hyena is sometimes obliged to content himself with the same food.

out of the hands of the Brahmins, by whom they are daily fed.*

"The phenomenon of small fish appearing, in the rainy season, in places before dry," (in the neighbourhood of Bombay,) Mr. Pennant says, "is as true as it is surprising. The natives begin to fish for them the tenth day after the first rains, and they make a common dish at the tables." Among the several modes of accounting for this annual appearance, this Naturalist prefers, as the least violent explanation, that these fish have "a pre-existent state" in the form of frogs. †

Alligators and porpoises are common in the Ganges. The Gangetic crocodile (*lacerta alligator*) grows to the length of 30 feet, and is as dangerous as the Nilotic, from which it differs chiefly in its narrow, long, and hooked proboscis, "formed like the bill of the bird *goosander*." There is another large species of crocodile in the Ganges, called the *ghurri-aul;* "so named from an excrescence in form of a ball, near the end of the nose, which tapers from the head, and ends abrupt, like the snout of a dog.‡ There is a

* One of Vishnoo's incarnations is said to have been in the form of a fish, but as to the particular kind, authorities are not agreed. The fish of the Ganges are worshipped at the festivals in honour of Gunga, in common with all the other finny, apodal, and amphibious inhabitants of the sacred waters. The fish above described, is probably indebted for the attentions paid it by the Brahmins, to its choosing the Alaknunda. Mr. Ward was informed, that the Hindoo women inhabiting the banks of the Padma branch of the Ganges, actually worship the *Ilish*a fish, when they first arrive in the river, and, after the due ceremonies, "partake of them without the fear of injuring their health."—WARD, vol. i. p. 281.

† Pennant, vol. i. p. 102. The island of Bombay and other places swarm with frogs and toads.

‡ Pennant, vol. ii. p. 207. A specimen of this species, 14 feet in length, is in the British Museum.

smaller species, not above 12 feet long; the head and neck are half the length of the body; the gape of the mouth is of an uncommon width. It does not attack man, but eagerly devours dogs. It is always found in the tanks after the annual inundations, and is supposed to be brought down from some of the streams which flow into the Ganges, but never descends into that river. This species is particularly venerated by the Hindoos as a consecrated animal. They are sometimes maintained in the ditches of fortified places, as contributing to their defence. Lizards are extremely common in all the provinces: among the Ghauts, there are some of prodigious size; and though hideous in shape, they are of most beautiful colours.*

The salt-waters of Travancore abound with the *phoca pusilla*, a genus of seal partaking of both the beaver and the otter. The Travancore seal has a round head, short ears, thick neck, tapering body, and flat tail like a fish; it is web-footed, and the skin is covered with a soft oily hair. It seldom exceeds four

* "In some," says Mr. Forbes, "the shoulders and dewlap take every intervening shade between the palest yellow and the brightest scarlet: in others, the dewlap is of the brightest azure, contrasted by yellow, scarlet, and orange, in other parts of the body. The greatest curiosity is the chameleon (*lacerta chamæleon*), found in every thicket" (in the Concan).—*Orient. Mem.* vol. i. p. 198. This author had one for several weeks in his possession, of which he gives a minute description. The average size, including the tail, is about 9 inches long, the body being half that length, and it has a hollow tongue half the length of the body. The general colour of the one described, was a pleasant green, spotted with pale blue, which changed to a bright yellow, dark olive, and dull green. It never appeared to so much advantage as when irritated: its body was then considerably inflated, and the skin clouded, like tortoise-shell, in shades of yellow, orange, green, and black. If a black object came in its way, it was instantaneously transformed to a hideous skeleton, black as jet. On removing the cause, the sable hue gave way to a brilliant colouring.

feet in length. These amphibious animals are gregarious, and form sociable parties on the banks of the rivers, but always plunge in at the approach of a stranger. The *hippocampus*, or sea-horse, is caught in great numbers off the Malabar coast. This singular animal "is generally from four to six inches in length, and two in circumference at the thickest part; the head and curvature of the neck resemble a horse, whence a short, swelling body gradually tapers to the extremity of the tail. Some parts of its form are quadrangular, others hexangular, and the body has seven or eight divisions; the whole separated by ridges, and furnished with fins, to shape its course in its own element."*

The sword fish (a very large species), the flying-fish, the tiger-shark, the sea-hedgehog, and other curious *genera*, abound in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Sea; † and off most of the coasts, at the distance of 20 or 30 leagues from land; sea snakes are numerous, from three to four feet long, and very venomous.‡ Turtles are common on the coasts: the best tortoise-shell is from the Orissa shore. The *sepia octopedia*, or eight-armed cuttle-fish, grows, in the Indian seas, to an amazing size. "The natives affirm, that some have been seen, two fathoms broad over their centre, and that each arm was nine fathoms long. When the Indians navigate their little boats, they go in dread of them; and lest these animals should fling their arms over them and sink them, they never sail without an ax to cut them off." §

* Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i. pp. 341, 359.

† Pennant, vol. i. pp. 213, 14; vol. ii. p. 316.

‡ Pennant, vol. i. p. 59.

§ Ib. vol. i. p. 215. "These," adds Mr. Pennant, "may parallel the enormous *polypus* or *sepia* described by Pliny (lib. ix. c. 30),

The serpents of Hindostan form a very formidable catalogue. Dr. Patrick Russell has given a delineation of forty-three species found on the Coromandel coast. The royal serpent, or *boa*, which attains the enormous length of forty feet, is treated with divine honours.* Similar homage is rendered to the hooded snake (*coluber naja, cobra di capello*), called by the natives *naag* or *nagao*, and *nella pamboo*, the good serpent. This singular reptile, which is found over all the hotter parts of India, receives its name from its having the power to dilate the skin of the head into the form of a hood. The centre of this moveable skin bears a mark, in black and white, resembling the form of a pair of spectacles, whence it is also called the spectacle-snake. It distends its hood only on being agitated by fear or some other passion, when, rearing the fore part of the body a third of its whole length, it spreads it out, and moves its head round, darting a fiery glance in every direction, often remaining in other respects immoveable; or else its motion becomes slow, steady, and cautious, on which account, in India, it is deemed the emblem of prudence. This species is from four to eight or nine feet in length, and is justly dreaded for its venomous bite, which is generally mortal, producing a universal gangrene in two or three hours. Yet, it is capable of being tamed; and the Malabar jugglers have the art of teaching them to dance to the inharmonious and slow notes of their flageolet. The serpent first seems astonished, then begins to rear himself, and sometimes, by a gentle,

which made its nightly invasions on the magazines of salt-fish at Carteia, and long put both men and dogs at defiance."

* This is the anacandaia of Ceylon, compared for its size to the mast of a ship. It is found in Africa and the Indian islands, and is described by Mrs. Graham as common in the vicinity of Bombay.

undulating motion of the head, and with distended hood, seems to listen with pleasure to the notes.*

The bite of the *cobra-manilla* is not less speedily mortal. This is a genus of a bluish colour, about a foot long, haunting old walls.† The *cobra de aurellia* is only six inches long, and not thicker than a crow-quill; it is apt to creep into the ear, and occasion death by producing frenzy. The sand-snake is another small species, not less fatal. The palmira, with a viperine head and varied body, is four feet long, yet, in no part thicker than a crow-quill. One of the most dangerous is a long snake (a species of *jaculus*), of a beautiful green, called the whip-snake, from its resemblance to the lash of a coachman's whip. This insi-

* The *calingan* or *cobra di capello* makes a conspicuous appearance in the sculptures at Elora, Salsette, and Elephanta. These "dancing snakes" are carried in baskets by the jugglers all over India; and it is, Mr. Forbes says, "a well attested fact," that when a house is infested with these snakes, and some others of the *coluber* genus which destroy poultry, or some even of the larger serpents of the *boa* tribe, the musicians are sent for, who charm the reptiles from their hiding-places to their own destruction.—*Orient. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 43.

† Mr. Forbes describes the "*cobra minelle*" as "the smallest and most dangerous" species, occasioning by its bite a speedy and painful death." They are of a brown colour, speckled with black and white, at a distance not easily distinguished from the ground on which they move. They enter the houses, and creep upon the beds and chairs. Mr. Forbes once found four, and at another time five in his chamber up stairs.—*Orient. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 42. Thomson well describes this reptile as

> "The small close-lurking minister of fate,
> Whose high concocted venom thro' the veins
> A rapid lightning darts."

Mr. Pennant speaks of a snake found at Bombay and near Madras, which the Portuguese call *cobra di morte*. "It is only from six to nine inches long. It has on its head the marks of a scull and two cross-bones, *perhaps* imaginary." Its bite produces instantaneous death.—PENNANT, vol. ii. p. 279. This is probably the same that Mr. Forbes describes.

dious animal conceals itself among the branches of trees, whence it darts rapidly on the cattle grazing below, generally aiming at the eye. It does not often attack man, but rather glides from his approach. The Hindoos, Mr. Pennant says, have the same notion as the Arabs have, of its being a flying serpent: it is the *cĕhsetulla* (i.e. *oculis infestus*) of Ceylon, the *volucer serpens* of Lucan, and probably the "fiery flying serpent" of the Hebrews.* Besides these, Mr. Pennant mentions "the poison-snake, two feet long, very slender, and freckled with pale brown or red," the bite of which occasions almost instantaneous death; the Ceylonese *ninypolonga*, or asp, which kills by inducing endless sleep; and "the burning serpent," so called from its producing by its bite the sensation of "raging fire."† The *rubdira mandali* (*hæmorrhoïs*), a large species, is said to cause the blood to flow through the pores of its victim. A similar effect is ascribed to the bite of the

* Isa. xxx. 6; xiv. 29. In Greek, *acontias*. They are mentioned by Pliny, N.H. lib. viii. 23—"*Jaculum ex arborum ramis vibrari, nec pedibus tantum cavere serpentes, sed et missili volare tormento.*" They are described by Niebuhr, and are common to India, Egypt, and Arabia.

† Pennant, vol. i. pp. 101, 197—200. This is probably the same species as the *leffah* of Shaw, a viper so called from *leffah*, to burn (Shaw's Travels, p. 179); or the "*torrida dipsas*." "A violent pain and intense burning along the bitten arm, was felt by a man bitten by a small brown snake called *visiyen pamboo*: on application of remedies, he was restored."—Pennant, vol. ii. p. 279. A fiery bite is ascribed by the ancients to several reptiles; and the *saraph* of the Arabian desert, (Numb. xxi. 6. Deut. viii. 15,) probably owed its name to the same circumstance, rather than to its fiery colour. "At Rajamundry, two soldiers were bitten by a small snake scarcely six inches long, and not thicker than a large goose-quill, of a dark stone colour. Its very small eyes shone like diamonds. It did not creep, but sprung forward a foot at a time. The effect of the bite was loss of sight, a sleepiness that nothing could prevent, and a deep stupor which ended in death." This is perhaps the asp of Ceylon.

kaluka-rekula-poda, which is probably the same species of *coluber*.* The *cobra de duas cabeças*, or two-headed *coluber* of the Portuguese, is a snake with a head and tail of similar size and appearance. Other *genera* (or at least other names of serpents) might be added to this terrific catalogue. Many of the Indian serpents, however, are harmless. Of forty-three species examined by Dr. Russell, seven only were found with poisonous organs.† The serpents of Gujerat are, Mr. Forbes says, more numerous and varied than even those of Bombay and the Malabar coast. Many are of large size; especially a species which seemed peculiarly partial to the shrubs and creeping plants which overshadowed a large well in the Author's garden. These, the native gardeners would neither destroy, nor suffer to be molested, as they looked upon them to be the genii or guardians of the place, and "often invoked them under the endearing appellations of father, mother, and other respectful and affectionate epithets."‡

It will not be expected, that we should attempt even to enumerate the insect tribes; much less to describe the character and beauty of "the *papilios*, *libellulæ*, *scarabæi*, *cicadæ*, *cantharides*, and other insects which animate the groves and gardens throughout the day," and are succeeded by a similar variety of nocturnal visiters. The fire-flies (*lampyris*) glitter by thousands in the dark recesses of the banyan-tree; and the spreading tamarind and other trees are sometimes so com-

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p, 42. Pennant, vol. ii. p. 278.

† Forbes's Orient. Mem., vol. i. p. 45. The outward application of *eau de luce*, and a quantity of warm Madeira wine taken inwardly, are stated to be generally effectual in curing the bite of the most venomous. "The Tanjore pill" is recommended as not less efficacious.".

‡ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 244.

pletely covered with them as to appear like "pyramids of light." The creeping-leaf and some others of the mantis class, are extremely curious. India abounds with wasps and bees; the latter build their nests in rocky caverns and hollow trees, and produce abundance of wax and honey, which were in ancient times articles of export, but the best is now imported from Muskat. The true silk-worm (*phalæna mori*) does not appear to be a native of India, and has only found its way into the country in modern times. A strong and useful silk is obtained, however, from the *cocoon* of the *phalæna atlas*, which inhabits the orange-tree, and a beautiful sea-green worm which feeds on the ricinus, and has received the name of the *phalæna ricini*. The *cocous lacca*, and other species of that order, rank also among the insect labourers. Among the predatory tribes, the ants, black and white, form one of the severest scourges of the country. They march in large armies, and in a few hours commit terrible depredations.* The visits of the locust are also much dreaded in some parts of India. Spiders, large and small, butterflies of the most brilliant colours, scorpions, mosquitoes, and myriads of minute winged tormentors; cray-fish, and numberless testaceous animals; corals and polypi; unite to form a list which only a practised naturalist would have courage sufficient to encounter.

* Forbes, vol. i. pp. 41, 45. Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 272, 275.

HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE history of India naturally divides itself into three parts; the ancient history, the Mohammedan annals, and the history of the European colonies.

India, properly speaking, is only the geographical designation of the country; it has never been the name of an empire: at least, the whole of what now bears the name, has never been permanently united under one monarchy. It has been peopled by distinct races, partially conquered and colonized by various nations; and the differences of dialect, as well as the natural divisions of the country, support the tradition, that it anciently comprehended at least as many as ten independent states. According to the Brahmins, the ten great kingdoms of Bharat-kand were the following:

1. Sareswata ..... Comprehending the Punjaub.
2. Canyacubja ..... Comprehending Delhi, Oude, Agra, and Serinagur.
3. Tirhoot ..... Extending from the Cusi to the Gunduk.
4. Bangala or Gaura .. Comprehending Bengal and part of Bahar.
5. Grijara ..... Comprising Gujerat and part of Khandeish and Malwah.
6. Utcala ..... Comprehending Orissa, &c. to the Godavery.
7. Maharashta ..... Comprising Khandeish, Berar, Aurungabad.
8. Telingana ..... Lying chiefly between the Godavery and the Krishna.
9. Karnata ..... Comprising all the table-land south of the Krishna, above the Ghauts.
10. Dravira ..... The Tamul countries, comprising the Peninsula S. of about lat. 12° 30'.

Corresponding to these general divisions, Mr. Colebrooke enumerates ten distinct polished dialects, which he supposes to have anciently prevailed among as many civilized nations. These are: 1. the Praerit, properly so called, or the vernacular Sanscrit, spoken by the Saraswata nation; 2. the Hindee, spoken by the Canyacubjas; 3. the Tirhutiya, or Mait'hila, which has a close affinity to, 4. the Bengalee, or Gaura;

5. the Gurjara, nearly allied to the Hindee; 6. the Utcala, Ooriya, or Orissa; * 7. the Mahratta; 8. the Telinga; 9. the Karnata or Carnara; † and 10. the Tamul. All these are either mere dialects of the Sanscrit, or are considerably mixed with that language. In the Hindee, however, and some others, there are traces of a distinct idiom, having no apparent affinity to the Sanscrit, and thought to be the remains and ground-work of an original language. The Punjabee dialect, spoken by the Sikhs, appears to be either the same as the Saraswata, or to be formed from it. The Brij-bhassa, or Vraja-bhasha, is a variety of the Hindee, containing a larger proportion of Sanscrit: it is spoken in the upper provinces, especially in the Doab.‡ Besides these, Cashmere has a dialect peculiar to itself; and the Magadha or Pali, the learned language of Ceylon and the Birman empire, may be added to the enumeration, as the ancient vernacular dialect of Bahar; but this, too, is Sanscrit, with scarcely any variation. The Hindostanee is a mixed language, varying greatly in different parts: the genuine Hindostanee is apparently a mixture of Hindee with Persian and Arabic; § but the barbarous jargon which

* The Serampore Missionaries calculate, that the Hindee, the Brij-Bhassa, the Mahratta, the Bengalee, and the Orissa, the vernacular dialects of Central India, are spoken by upwards of 50,000,000.

† The junction of the three languages, the Mahratta, the Telinga, and the Karnata, is said to take place somewhere about the city of Beeder in the Deccan.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. pp. 219—231.

§ M. Malte Brun says: "The dialect of Central Indostan" (by which he seems to mean the Hindee), "mixed with that of the Afghâns or Patans, and with that of the Mongolian armies, has given birth to the idiom formerly spoken at the Mogul court, and still prevalent among the Mohammedans of India. It should be called the Mongol-Hindostanee, but is generally known by the name of the Moorish or Moors' language." The Cashmerian, he asserts, makes the nearest approach to the ancient Sanscrit. The

reciprocal mistakes have introduced among Europeans and their native servants, and which goes by that name, scarcely deserves to be called a language. Some mountain-tribes have a peculiar *bhasha* or speech, having no affinity to the Sanscrit, and supposed to be aboriginal. It is referred to by the native grammarians under the contemptuous term *apabhransa* or jargon, but of its true character little is known. It is, perhaps, the same as the Kassai, which is spoken by the mountaineers inhabiting the eastern border of Bengal and the north-western districts of Birmah. The languages of Assam, Nepaul, and Bootan are also distinct dialects. West of the Indus, besides the Gurjara or Gujurattee,* the Pushtoo and the Beeloochee are spoken. The Maldivian is also a distinct dialect, related probably to the Malay. In the neighbourhood of Bombay, there prevails a language called *Kunkuna*. The Malabaric, according to the positive assurance given to Mr. Colebrooke by a learned native, is different from the Tamul, with which it is generally identified: it is apparently that of Cochin, and may be a mixed dialect. The Telug, or Walug, is said to be spoken about Cuddalore and Madras.

There seems no reason, however, to doubt that the enumeration given by Mr. Colebrooke is substantially accurate and complete, comprising all the principal national varieties of the great Hindoo family; and the existence of these several dialects seems to render it

purest dialect of Hindostanee is the *Wradsha*, spoken in the neighbourhood of Agra and Mathura."—MALTE BRUN, iii. 269, 70. The language of Moultan, according to the Author of the Mithridates, has about one-tenth Persian.

* This dialect is said to be spoken not only in Gujerat and Sinde, at Surat, and in the Balaghant, but over Orissa as far as the Coromandel-coast, eastward to Bengal and Assam, and even in Nepaul. —ADELUNG, cited by Malte Brun.

certain, that the country was, in remote times, politically subdivided into at least as many separate states.

At what period these ten kingdoms were formed, or whence the various tribes originated, is matter only of conjecture. About 2000 years before the Christian era, according to the Puranas, or sacred books of the Hindoos, Bharata comprised four rich and powerful kingdoms, virtually independent of each other, but generally confederate under one common head or emperor. *Prachi*, or the East, (corrupted by the Greeks into *Prasii*,) was the name given to the most opulent and distinguished of the four, comprehending the modern provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and part of Oude, the metropolis being Baliputra, the renowned Palibothra of Grecian history. That which ranked second, in point of opulence and strength, was the kingdom of Bejanagur; so called from its capital, seated on the river Tombhudra, and comprising the whole of the Peninsula S. of the Krishna. A third state extended from the Gulf of Cambay to the mouths of the Ganges, and from latitude 22° to 17° N., including the modern provinces of Gujerat, Malwah, Khandeish, Aurungabad, Berar, and Gundwana. The provinces of Delhi, Lahore, Moultan, and Ajmeer formed the fourth and not the least powerful of these monarchies; and this seems to have been the kingdom of Porus. These four states might be denominated, in fact, Eastern, Western, Central, and Southern India. The different provinces of which each was composed, were governed by their respective rajahs, answering, in some measure, to the great feudatories of Europe. A confederacy which held together states and principalities differing materially in language, manners, and religious observances, must, of course, have been subject to perpetual interruptions. Contests for the supremacy

between rival sovereigns, as well as intestine struggles between the sacerdotal and military classes, or contending factions, must have occasioned petty revolutions similar to those which are obscurely referred to in the annals of ancient Egypt, or which have taken place in comparatively recent times, among the monarchies of the Buddhic world.

Nor is it to be supposed, that the subordinate principalities were always divided among these four monarchies. *Prachi* (by which, says Mr. Wilford, is understood all the country from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of India) was divided into two parts; the first comprehending all the country from Allahabad to Raj-mehal and the western branch of the Ganges; and the second including Bengal or Gangaradesa (the *Gangaridæ* of the Greeks).* The capital of "*Prachi* proper," or the western part, was *Rajgriha* (*Raj-mehel* or *Raj-mandalam*; that is, the royal residence), built by a son of King Prithu (supposed to be Noah), called Haryacsha. In the war of the Mahabharat, it was taken and rebuilt by Bala Rama, who is considered as its second founder, and in honour of that conqueror or one of his sons, it received the name of *Bali-pootra* (the son of Bali). Diodorus Siculus, in conformity to this account, makes the founder of Palibothra to have been the Indian Hercules or Belus,†

* "Prachi....is also called *Purva*, an appellation of the same import, and *Purob* in the spoken dialects....Perhaps from these two countries, called Purva, is derived the appellation of *Parvaim* in Scripture, which appears with a dual form (2 Chron. iii. 6, *gold of Parvaim*). According to Arrian's Periplus, Bengal was famous for its highly refined gold, called *keltin* in the Periplus, and *candan* or *calden* to this day."—*Asiat. Resear.*, v. 269.

† "As Bala sprang from Vishnoo, or Heri, he is certainly Herculas. Diodorus Siculus says, that the posterity of Hercules reigned for many centuries in Palibothra, but that they did no-

who was worshipped by the *Surasení*. The chief cities of that people, according to Megasthenes, were Methoras and Clisoborae, which retain their names in the Mathura (or Mutra) and Calisa-pura of the modern Hindoos; and the whole country about Mutra, is called Surasena by the learned Brahmins to this day. The navigable river Jobares, which passed through their territories, is the Jumna.* Palibothra was built on the confines of the *Prasii*, near the confluence of the *Erannoboas* (*Hiran-ya-baha*, *i. e.* auriferous) with the Ganges. The former river is supposed by Mr Wilford to be the Coosy, which, in the days of the Greek Geographer, united with the Ganges about five-and-twenty miles below its present mouth, where the old channel is still visible. The greater part of the site of this immense metropolis has been carried away by the encroachments of the Ganges; and the present town of Raj-mehal, formerly a suburb of the city, is all that remains to represent that "famous place."

Patali-putra, (or Patya), the modern Patna, which has been mistaken for Palibothra, was the original capital of the hereditary sovereigns of Magadha or Southern Bahar.† One of these kings, an ancestor of the great Chandra-gupta, having subdued the whole of Prachi, transferred his residence to Bali-pootra. Here he was overcome and put to a most cruel death,

thing worthy of being recorded; and, indeed, their names are not even mentioned in the Puranas."—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 270.

* See Rooke's Arrian, vol. ii. p. 199. Mathura is much celebrated and venerated by the Hindoos as the scene of the birth and early adventures of their favourite deity, Krishna.

† Patali is a form or name of the goddess Devi, formerly worshipped there. Mr. Wilford assigns strong reasons for supposing it to be the *Patale* of Pliny. There was another place of the same name at the summit of the delta of the Indus.

by Bala Rama and his brother Krishna. The name of the unfortunate monarch was Jara Sandha, and the sanguinary war, which forms the subject of the great epic poem called the *Mahabharat*, is fixed by Mr. Bentley about 1180 years before the Christian era.

Among all the Sanscrit works which have hitherto come to our knowledge, there is but one which has any pretensions to the character of an historical composition.* This is the chronicle of the kings of Cashmeer, entitled *Radjâ Taringini*, which had long been known to orientalists through the medium of Persian translations; but our learned countryman, Mr. Colebrooke, first succeeded in obtaining, in 1805, a copy of the original: since then, Mr. Wilson has been fortunate enough to procure three other manuscripts. The first part of this series of chronicles, compiled by Kalhana Pandit, son of Kampaka, commences with the ages of fable, and comes down to the reign of Sangrama Deva, B.C. 1027. The author is supposed to have written about B.C. 1148. A continuation of this original chronicle, called the *Radjavali* of Djona Radja, together with the *Sri Djaina Radja Taringini*, by his pupil, Sri Vara Pandita, brings down the Cashmirian annals to the year 1477. "In the great obscurity which envelops the Indian history prior to the Mussulman conquest, the appearance of such a document," M. Klaproth remarks, "is of great importance: and although its contents do not appear to be of very high interest, it

* "That no Hindu nation but the Cashmirians have left us regular histories in their ancient language," remarks Sir W. Jones, "we must ever lament."—*Asiat. Res.*, iv. xvi. The learned President was never able, however, to procure the original.

is nevertheless the only torch which remains to throw light on the antiquities of India."*

According to these Hindoo annals, the beautiful valley which forms the kingdom of Cashmeer, was originally a vast lake named *Sati-saras*, or the lake of Satee (one of the names of Doorga); a story which accords with the local traditions of the country. The individual who drained this valley of its waters, was a holy personage named Casyapa, son of Marishi, son of Brahma, who accomplished this task by opening a passage through the mountains near Baramauleh, through which the water escaped. It is not improbable, remarks M. Klaproth, that the valley was originally a large reservoir, and that, as Bernier supposes, a convulsion of nature opened the mountain barrier which closed it on all sides, and gave vent to the waters, which then flowed into the plains of the Punjaub. The territory thus recovered by Casyapa, was also peopled by that holy man, with the assistance of certain gods whom he brought down from heaven for that purpose. This took place at the commencement of the seventh *manwantara*, or the age in which we are now, according to the Hindoo chronology.†

* Journal Asiatique, tom. vii. p. 8.

† According to Major Wilford, C'hasapa, C'hasyapa, and C'hassyapati, signify the lord of the C'hasyas, "a most ancient and powerful tribe, who inhabited the Indian Caucasus (*Koh Chasyas*), from the eastern limits of India to the confines of Persia, and most probably as far as the Euxine." "Their great ancestor, C'hasya, is mentioned by Sanchoniathon under the name of Cassius. The two countries of Cash-ghar, those of Cash-mir, Castwar, and the famous peak of C'has-ghar, are acknowledged in India to derive their names from the Chasas. The country called Casia by Ptolemy, is still inhabited by Chasyas; and Pliny informs us, that the inhabitants of the mountainous region between the Indus and the Jumna, were called *Cesi*, a word obviously derived from *Chasa*, or *Chesai*, as they are often denominated in the vulgar dialects."

From the epoch of this first colony down to the reign of Gonerda, the first prince whose name is mentioned by Kalhana, Cashmeer is stated to have been governed by a series of fifty-two monarchs of the family of Kaurava, whose reigns collectively form a period of 1266 years. These princes, says a Hindoo author, are undeserving of mention, on account of their contempt for the precepts of the Vedas, and their impure and vicious life. The chasm left by the Hindoo writers in the history of their country, is in part supplied by the Mohammedan writers; and M. Klaproth has drawn, from another source, a list of twenty-nine of these monarchs. The fourth from Casyapa, was Bandou or Pandou Khan, the ancestor of the Pandavas, who afterwards became so celebrated in the history of India. That Cashmeer was the original country of the Pandavas, (they afterwards settled on the banks of the Hydaspes,) is mentioned in several Sanscrit works. Tehab Khan, the fifteenth sovereign of this dynasty, was attacked and dethroned by Kaldjou Khan, king of Caubul, his neighbour and relation, who was, in his turn, after a reign of seven years, expelled by his kinsmen the Pandavas, who took possession of the throne. Naureng Khan, the nineteenth in succession, is said to have been a great conqueror, and to have extended his possessions as far as China; and Pandou Khan II. recovered the provinces which had formerly belonged to Cashmeer,

The western Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and the Syrian and Egyptian Casius, the learned Writer would suppose to have derived their appellation from the same people, whom he supposes to be the Persian *Cosaei*. The classical Jupiter Cassius and Cassiopœus, he refers to the same Indian original. In fact, these Chasyas are made almost to answer to the ubiquitous Cushites of Jacob Bryant. The Cassayers of Indo-China are very probably the same race. See Asiat. Res., vi. 455. Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 246

extending to the borders of the Indian Sea. Nauder Khan, the twenty-seventh monarch, introduced the worship of fire. In the reign of his successor, a revolution took place, followed by a series of disorders. At length, after a long interval, which forms a blank in the Cashmirian annals, Gonerda or Gonanda (the Augnand of the Persian Version), the contemporary of Krishna and Youdhisht'hir, began his reign. He was, it seems, a relation of the unfortunate Jara Sandha, to whose aid he came from Cashmeer at the head of an army. The confederates encountered Krishna in the province of Mathura, and were defeated on the banks of the Jumna by that chief and his brother Bala Rama. Gonerda, while in the act of rallying his routed troops, was killed by the latter.* He was succeeded by his son, Damodura, who, very shortly after, met the same fate, being defeated and slain by the victorious Pandavas, leaving a widow in a condition which rendered her quite incapable of maintaining the contest by any effectual resistance. But Krishna sent some Brahmins to her, to calm her apprehensions, and established her in Cashmeer. She was at length delivered of her son, the posthumous heir to the throne, who, immediately on his birth, was declared king; and the government fell into the hands of the ministers of his father.

Although the name of Gonerda does not occur in the Mahabharat, that poem gives a detailed account of the sanguinary war carried on between Jara Sandha and Krishna; and both the origin and the principal circumstances of the contest are related with a strong appearance of probability. Jara Sandha, king of

* Among the other princes who were slain, are mentioned Hamsa and Dimbika. Hamsa was defeated by Bala Rama, and driven into the Jumna, where he was drowned.

Magadha, is represented as a powerful prince, who numbered among his allies or tributaries, Sis'oupala, king of Chedi; Vakra or Vakradanta, king of Karousha, the powerful prince of the Yavans (or Greeks); Bhagadatta, king of the south-west; and several other petty sovereigns.* Kansa (or Kung-su), king of Mathura, had espoused the daughter of Jara Sandha; and it was to avenge the murder of his son-in-law, that the emperor of Magadha made war upon Krishna. † According to the Mahabharat, this war lasted three years. The Bhagavat informs us, that Jara Sandha besieged Mathura eighteen times. The two accounts are in accordance with the result of the war. Krishna was eventually compelled to flee and take refuge, with his family and his partisans, in a strong position on the western side of the Indus, where he built the town or fort of Dwaraka.

The power of Jara Sanda formed an insurmount-

* What were the proper territories of these monarchs, it is not easy to ascertain. Contemporary with Jara Sandha was Vrihadbala, king of Ayodhya or Audh (Oude). Bengal (Gaura) and Orissa (Utcala) had also their kings. Among the monarchs whom Krishna is stated to have slain, we find mention of a Naraca, king of Pragyotisha (now Gauhautee in Lower Assam); but he is said to have restored the kingdom to his son Bhagadatta. This must be the monarch above referred to, and the acts of Krishna and those of Jara Sandha may be confounded...See *Asiat. Res.*, ix. 74. WARD, i. 194, 201.

† Krishna, the Roustum of the Hindoos, would seem to have been of neither divine nor royal birth, being the son of a *kshutriya*, or warrior. He was born at Mathura, and while yet an infant, we are told, Kung-su sought to destroy him; but his father escaped with him to Vandavunu. On attaining manhood, Krishna, "assuming four arms," returned to Mathura, and destroyed its king.—WARD'S *Hindoos*, i. 193—202. If, however, Kung-su was, agreeably to other accounts, Krishna's uncle, either he had something to fear from the claims of Krishna, or the story of his seeking his life is a fabrication. Some accounts make Krishna the grandson of Surasena.

able obstacle in the way of Yudhishthir's * being able to offer the sacrifice called *Radjasouya*; in other words, his being able to make good his pretensions to the dignity of emperor or lord paramount of India.† Of this circumstance, the artful Krishna adroitly availed himself in enumerating the grounds of complaint against Jara Sandha; and he succeeded in instigating the prince Pandava to take up arms in his favour. Accompanied by Bheema and Arjouna, Krishna entered Bahar by a circuitous route, passing under the mountains by Gorakpore and Tirhoot. Jara Sandha, it appears, had made no preparation for defence, for he was surprised in his capital, and, according to one account, after a contest of several days, was killed in single combat by Bheema.‡ This event was, probably, not attended by the effect anticipated, since it was undoubtedly one of the causes of the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, one of the results of which was to prevent Krishna from recovering the territory to obtain which he had killed his uncle. Kerna, the king of Mathura, who appears to have occupied that territory after the death of Jara Sandha, was probably placed there, and undoubtedly supported, by the Kaurava princes. These facts, it is remarked, "sufficiently explain the intimate

* Yudhishthira was king of Pralishtana, or Delhi, and appears to have been the head of the Pandavas.

† ——— "The sacrifice
That should, to men and gods, proclaim him lord
And sovereign master of the vassal world."
SOUTHEY'S *Curse of Kehama*, vii. p. 76.
'The *Raisoo Yug*, or Feast of Rajahs, could be performed only by a monarch who had conquered all the other sovereigns of the world.'—Halhed."—*Ibid.*, notes.

‡ According to other accounts, the unfortunate monarch was sawn asunder by the ferocious brothers, Krishna and Bala Rama.

alliance which subsisted between Krishna and the Pandavas, his expulsion from Mathura, and his founding a city on the coast of Malabar." This Hindoo demigod was at length "slain in Saurashta, by the aboriginal tribes (the Bheels) whom he and the Pandus had expelled; and his followers in the Great War, on the death of their leader, settled, part in Zabulistan and part in Sewesthan, on the Indus. The native annals state, that Samba, one of Krishna's sons by his favourite wife, Jamburati, was founder of the Sindesama dynasty, who had for their capital, Samanagara or Sambu-nagara (the fortress of Sama or Sambu)," the same as the Minagara of the Periplus, the Sindomana of Arrian, and the modern Tatta or Debeil.* Like other deified heroes, the character of Krishna appears to have been infamous for cruelty, treachery, and licentiousness.

With regard to Bala Rama, who is conjointly wor-

* This account of the death and posterity of Krishna, we give on the authority of a paper by Major (now Colonel) Tod in the Trans. of the Royal Asiat. Soc., vol. i., to which we shall have occasion again to refer. The preceding details are taken from Mr. Wilson's Notes to his Translation of the *Radja Taringini*, as given by M. Klaproth in the *Journal Asiatique*, tom. vii. pp. 18—20. According to other accounts, Krishna was either assassinated or accidentally killed with an arrow, while sitting under a tree, by Angada, a hunter. His posterity, some of the Puranas state, were all destroyed by the curse of a Brahmin; while other authorities make him to have put them to death with his own hand. His "legal wife" was Rucmani, daughter of Bhismaca, King of Cundanapura in Beder. "According to the *Shree Bhaguvtu* (*Sri Bhagavat*), *Muhabharutu*, and other works," says Mr. Ward, "this god, Krishnu, a form of Vishnoo, was incarnate to destroy kings Shishoo-palu, and Kung-su, and a number of giants." "Sama, or Syama," Colonel Tod says, "was one of the names of Crishna, from his dark complexion; hence Samba." Both Syama and Crishna mean black; and the latter is, perhaps, a translation of his real name.—See WARD'S *Hindoos*, i. 193—262. *Asiat. Res.*, ix. 35, 72, 74.

shipped with his brother Krishna, as one incarnation of Vishnoo, it seems difficult to ascertain his real history.* He is also styled Bala Deva, and is said to have built three cities for his sons; Bali-pootra (Palibothra), Mahabalipooram (Mavelivoram) in the Carnatic, and Balipura in the province of Beder. The title of *Maha Bala* has, however, been assumed by different monarchs, and little dependence, therefore, can be placed on the tradition. His posterity are supposed to have occupied the imperial throne of Palibothra; but of this inglorious dynasty of Balapootras, Indian history has preserved no memorial. Sahadeva, the son of the unfortunate Jara Sandha, was permit-

* "Megasthenes," says Mr. Wilford, "reckons fifteen generations between Dionysius (Deo Nausha) and Hercules, by whom we are to understand Crishna and his brother Bala Rama."—*Asiat. Res.*, v. 292. "Bala is represented as a stout man, with a club in his hand····As Bala sprang from Vishnu or Heri, he is certainly Heri-cula, or Hercules. Diodorus Siculus says, that the posterity of Hercules reigned for many centuries in Palibothra, but that they did nothing worthy of being recorded; and, indeed, their names are not even mentioned in the Puranas."—*Ibid.* p. 270. Yet, in a subsequent volume, the learned Writer tells us, that Nonnus, in the Dionysiacs, gives the title of Hercules or Bala to Sandes, or Jara Sandha; an epithet, he says, to which he is fully entitled. "Old Sand'ha is considered as a hero to this day in India, and pilgrimages, I am told, are yearly performed to the place of his abode, to the east of Gaya, in South Bahar. It is called *Raja Griha* (the royal mansion)." Martial games were formerly exhibited in honour of this unfortunate hero, who is "represented naked with a club in his hand." At Benares, a *ghaut* (landing-place) still bears the name of Jara Sandha; and the tradition is, that he erected there a pillar of victory.—*Asiat. Res.*, ix. 80, 93. It is very probable, that both Jara Sandha and Rama successively assumed the title of Bala, and it is not surprising that they should therefore be mistaken for each other, and their actions mixed up together. Mr. Wilford has clearly confounded them. Jara Sandha's ancestors were the Vrihad-Ratha, or Barhadrat'ha dynasty, kings of Cicata, descended from Puru, the fifth son of Yayati, the son of Nahusha.—*Ibid.*, p. 91.

ted to retain possession of his hereditary dominions, although, possibly, as a tributary. At length, towards the beginning of the third century before Christ, the warlike and enterprising sovereign of Magadha, Maha Nanda, recovered, from the slothful or effeminate successors of Bala Rama, the conquests wrested from his ancestor, subdued the whole of Prachi, and re-established the seat of the Magadha empire at Palibothra.

Nanda, sovereign of Prachi or Eastern India, was the contemporary of Alexander the Great; and the native annals now receive some illustration from western or classic history. Two hundred years before, the Persian empire, under Darius Hystaspes, had extended itself into India.* His admiral, Scylax, a Carian Greek, descended the Indus from Caspatyrus † to its mouth; and on his return, the Conqueror of Lydia and Thrace, of Transoxiana and Arachosia, crossed that river, overran great part of India Proper, and imposed upon its princes an annual tribute of 300

* In Dow's Translation of Ferishta's History, the first invasion of India by the Persians, is said to have taken place at the instigation of "one of the blood-royal of India," who, "disgusted with the reigning prince (king of Oude), fled into Persia, whose king was called Feredon. That monarch, espousing the cause of the fugitive, sent an army into Hindostan, and carried on a war with that empire for ten years. The country suffered exceedingly, and the Maraja (Maha Rajah) was obliged to cede part of his dominions to the fugitive prince, who, it seems, was his nephew. A tribute was, at the same time, sent to the King of Persia; and the empire of India seems ever after to depend, in some measure, upon that of Persia."—Dow, vol. i. p. 2. As Feridoon reigned, according to the Persian annals, 500 years, it is not easy to ascertain the precise date of these events. If, however, Feridoon may be identified, as Sir John Malcolm supposes, with Arbaces, this would fix it about 820 B.C. Ferishta (or his Translator) would place it, by a random conjecture, 700 years earlier. Possibly, the story of Krishna is here mixed up with occurrences of later date, which led to the first Persian inroad.

† Coshabpoor on the Hydaspes, according to Wilford.

talents of gold. It is not, indeed, probable, that his conquests extended so far eastward as Prachi, or much beyond the district watered by the Indus and its branches; but it is admitted by a Hindoo writer, that the ostensible cause of the celebrated invasion of India by Alexander of Macedon, was, to levy this tribute, which had been withheld, and to compel the Indian princes to acknowledge the supremacy of the Great King.

At the era of this invasion (B.C. 328), Western India, according to the sober statements of Arrian, was partitioned among several warlike tribes.* The inhabitants of the Punjaub are described as strong-built and large-limbed, taller in stature than any other Asiatics, many of them being little less than five cubits high. Their complexion he describes as more swarthy than any yet known, and their military skill as far surpassing that of all the other inhabitants

* Arrian ridicules the affected exactness of Megasthenes, according to whom the whole of India was divided into 122 several nations. Megasthenes, however, who visited the courts of both Porus and Sandracottus, derived his information from the natives. "In the Panjab country," remarks Major Rennell, "in an extent less than is comprised within one of the *soubahs*, or grand divisions of the Mogul empire, we find no fewer than seven nations; and along the lower parts of the Indus, many more. Even in the Panjab, where Alexander warred a whole campaign and part of another, there was nothing of that kind of concert appeared, which must have taken place between the governors of provinces, had they been under one head; but, in general, each acted separately and for himself. The *Malli*, *Cathæri*, and *Oxydracæ*, we are told, leagued together for their mutual defence; and this proves that they were separate governments."—RENNELL, p. 130. Ambisarus, king of a tribe of Indian mountaineers, and Doxareus, another rajah, are mentioned by Arrian as having tendered their submission to the invader. Another Porus, the nephew of the brave antagonist of Alexander, fled, at his approach, to the court of Prachi.—ROOKE'S *Arrian*, vol. ii. pp. 16, 43. *As. Res.*, vol. ix. p. 94.

of Asia. "Even those warlike Persians," he adds, "by whose valour Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, deprived the Medes of the empire of Asia, and brought many other nations under subjection, partly by force, and partly by voluntary surrender, are by no means to be compared with those Indians."* They appear, in fact, to have presented an imposing front to the victorious army of Alexander, and to have excited at once his astonishment and admiration. Their martial zeal was raised to enthusiasm by the eloquence of the Brahmins, who, according to the concurrent statements of Grecian and native writers, called upon the people to unite in opposing the irreligious invader. Several of the petty chiefs of the Sindetic provinces, however, tendered their allegiance to Alexander; and at Taxila on the Indus, the chief joined his army with 5000 Indians.† Alexander crossed the Attok

* Rooke's Arrian, ii. 9. We seem to recognise, in this description, the Pandavas, and their black hero, Krishna.

† The immense ruins of *Tacshaila*, the Taxila of the Greeks, Lieut. Wilford says, are to be seen between the Vetasta (or Hystaspes) and the Indus. They cover a vast extent of ground, upon which have been built a town and several considerable villages; but these ruins are mere rubbish. Serai Ravaut (or Rubbaut) is built upon the site of part of the city. The Tacahailas (or Tacshasilas) still exist as a numerous tribe under the name of Syalas or Seyalas, and are divided into several branches; the Syalas proper, those of Syal-cote, of Jehung-Syal, (whose principal town is called Yehungsialan by Major Rennell,) the Cac-Syalas, &c.....The Syalas are exceedingly proud of their antiquity, and talk of ancient heroes; yet they remember nothing of Alexander and his conquests. They are a fine race of men, tall, bold, and generous, like their neighbours, the Chatars, the *Chatri* of Diodorus. The greater part of the latter are still Hindoos; I have seen several of them at Benares, and their tribe is well known in Penjab. The Syalas and Chatars are certainly a distinct race in that part of the country. The Syalas or Tacshas'ailas, are also called simply Tacshas. They say, that the ancient name of their city was *Uda-nagri*, and Hud that of their country; so called from one *Hud-Vallala*, or the shepherd, called Yulluleah by Persian authors, and Lilalos

without opposition; but, on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes, he encountered and defeated Porus, the Maha Rajah of Western India, at the head of a powerful army, including, according to Arrian, 4000 horse, 300 chariots, 200 elephants, and nearly 30,000 foot. On the field of victory, he founded the city of Nicæa, and on the site of his grand encampment on the hither side, that of Bucephalus, in memory of his favourite horse.* A second victory was gained over a large Indian army collected at Sangala.† But this was the extent of his conquests. On the banks of the Hyphasis (the Beyah or Gavra), a mutiny broke out among the Macedonians, who, discouraged by the hardships they had undergone, and

by the Greeks. The country of Hud is called Hodu in the book of Esther, and seems to have included what is called Sind by Persian writers; at least the northern parts of it. It is called *Yud'dhoya* in the Puranas, and *Ayud* or *Ayoud* by European travellers of the sixteenth century.—WILFORD *in Asiat. Res.* vol. ix. p. 348, 9. Major Rennell supposed Taxila to be near Attok.

* These were probably the sites of towns partially ruined, which Alexander ordered to be rebuilt under new names. He ordered a third to be built on the Chunaub.

† Arrian states, that Alexander, after defeating Porus, entered the country of the *Glaucanicæ* or *Glausæ*, which he added to the dominions of Porus. On the third day after crossing the Hydraotes, he encountered, near Sangala, the confederate forces of the *Cathæi* (Kuttry tribe), the *Oxydracæ* (people of Cutch), and the *Malli* (inhabitants of Moultan). About 17,000 Indians are stated to have been slain at the storming of that place. The extensive ruins of Sangala, Major Wilford informs us, are to be seen about 50 miles W. of Lahore, in an uninhabited part of the country. It "is situated in a forest, and though desolate and uninhabited, it still preserves its ancient name." It has been confounded by Arrian with Salgada (called to this day Salgheda) near Calanore. It is the *Sinkol* of Ferishta and the Persian romances. One of its rajahs assisted Afrasiab in his war against the famous Kai Khosrau."—*As. Res.*, vol. v. p. 282; vi. 521. See also Dow, vol. i. pp. 5—7; and RENNELL, p. 123. The capital of Phoor, or Porus, according to Ferishta, was Canouje.—Dow, vol. i. p. 8.

dismayed at the prospect of still greater difficulties in advancing into an unknown and hostile region, unanimously refused to proceed further. It is not improbable that Alexander yielded less to the impatience of his troops, than to the obstacles presented by the season, the natural strength of the country, and the unexpected resistance of hostile millions.* Reluctant as he must have felt to abandon the splendid enterprise, a paramount necessity compelled him to affect to yield to the wishes of his troops, and to content himself with the empty conquest of a province, instead of the subjugation of an empire.† The expedition had been planned in utter ignorance of the nature of the country. Alexander passed the Hydaspes about the height of the rainy season; and it was not without reason that, after being exposed to incessant rains for seventy days, the soldiers complained. On escaping from the inundated plains of the Punjaub, they had to enter upon a sandy desert, where still more formidable hardships threatened them. The army too had already been thinned by disease.‡ Under these circumstances, it redounds to the military glory of

* Plutarch states, that the last battle with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonian courage, and hindered their further progress in India. They were told, that the Gandaritans and Præsians (the *Gangarides* and *Prasii*) were expecting them with an immense army of no fewer than 3000 elephants. The capture of Sangala was a dear-bought and bootless conquest; and a few more such victories must have proved fatal to the conqueror.—See ROOKE's *Arrian*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51.

† Major Rennell remarks, that, with such an army as Alexander is stated to have had, "the conquest of the Panjab and Sindy would be no very great matter in our times, although united; and yet, this conquest is considered as a brilliant part of Alexander's history. The truth is, the romantic traveller is blended with the adventurous soldier; and the feelings of the reader are oftener applied to than his judgement."—RENNELL, p. 130.

‡ Rennell, p. 131.] [Robertson's India, *note 5*.

Alexander, that he could mask a retreat under the semblance of a triumph, subdue the countries through which he led back a dispirited army, and convert his escape from the sandy deserts of Gedrosia into a Bacchanalian triumph.*

Alexander left a small portion of his army under some of his most experienced officers, to keep possession of the conquered territory on the banks of the Indus; but his troops abandoned themselves to every species of debauchery, and mutual broils were the natural result of their unbridled passions. The death of Alexander, together with the subsequent division of his empire, hastened the downfal of the Grecian power in India. It was not, however, immediately annihilated; and Seleucus Nicator, the greatest of his successors, after reducing to his authority Parthia, Bactria, and the other intermediate provinces of the empire, marched into India to take possession of the Macedonian conquests in that quarter.

In the mean time, Nanda, the aged monarch of

* Curtius, Plutarch, and Diodorus relate, that, in leading his army through Carmania (Kerman), Alexander affected to emulate the ancient bacchanals of Dionysius. Arrian rejects the story as improbable. Yet it was quite in consistency with his usual policy, which led him, as this historian remarks, to conform himself to the customs of the nations he conquered, to endear himself to them the more. And if he contemplated re-appearing under more favourable auspices on this magnificent stage of conquest, nothing could be better adapted to forward his future views, by conciliating the superstitious prejudices which had armed a whole country against him, than assuming the character of an *avatar* of Bacchus or Vishnoo. "I cannot condemn Alexander," says Arrian, "for endeavouring to draw his subjects into the belief of his divine original, nor be induced to believe it any great crime; because it is very reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it, than merely to procure the greater authority among his soldiers. Neither was he less famous than Minos, or Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, who all of them challenged kindred with Jove; and none of the ancients condemned them for it."—Rooke's *Arrian*, vol. ii. p. 184.

Prachi, having been assassinated by his prime minister, had been succeeded by an active and enterprising prince, the famous Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Grecian writers.* The circumstances attending this revolution, so far as they can be gathered from the discordant statements of the Hindoo annals, were these. Nanda was the son of Maha Nanda, king of Magadha, by a female Sudra; he was a good king, just and equitable, and "paid due respect to the Brahmins." His prime minister, Sacatara, was probably of that order; and he appears to have wielded the whole powers of government during the latter part of the monarch's reign, much in the same way as some of the ministers of the modern rajahs. Not content with this, in furtherance of his criminal designs, and in concert with the queen, he murdered the king, and placed Upadhanwa, one of the younger sons of Nanda, upon the throne. The crime did not, however, go unpunished. Sacatara and all his sons, except one, were put to death; and to secure himself against hostile claimants of the crown, Upadhanwa gave orders for the massacre of all his half-brothers, the children of Nanda by a different mother. Chandragupta alone escaped, and fled to the court of Parvateswara, "lord of the mountains," or king of Nepaul; to whom he offered one half of his kingdom, if he would assist him in taking the field against his enemy.

* *Chandragupta* (*i. e.* guarded by Lunus, or the Moon) is the name which he is said to have assumed in gratitude for this escape. Of this, the Greek writers made Sandrocoptos, Sandracottus, Chandram, and Xandrames. According to Diodorus, he was of a low tribe. His mother appears to have been a Sudra, and Sacatara is stated to have been her paramour. A previous attempt to get rid of Nanda by poison, had failed, the dose proving only strong enough to impair the faculties of the unhappy monarch, without destroying life.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. pp. 269—8; 284.

In conjunction with this powerful ally, aided by a body of Greek auxiliaries, Chandragupta defeated Upadhanwa with great slaughter under the walls of his capital, the monarch himself being among the slain, and took possession of the throne of his father. His promise to Parvateswara was now disregarded. He retained a large body of Yavans or Greeks in his pay, and fortifying his capital, set his enemies at defiance. Eventually, he appears to have either conciliated or triumphed over all parties, and during a reign of many years, was beloved by his subjects.*

When Seleucus entered India, he found himself opposed by this monarch, who appears to have marched to the assistance of the western princes, at the head of a formidable army. The particulars of this invasion are obscurely and differently related. According to the Greek historians, the expedition of Seleucus was splendid and victorious; and it was, probably, his first successes that brought him in immediate contact with the sovereign of Prachi, and led to a treaty so honourable to the invaders. Seleucus is stated, indeed, to have yielded up all his conquests east of the Indus; but, by the same treaty, he gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta, who, in return, agreed to

* In the Vishnoo-purana and the Bhagawat, Chandragupta is stated to have been raised to the throne by the minister of Nanda, Chanacya or Cotilya, to whom is ascribed the destruction of the eight sons of Nanda; and the revolution is said to have been effected in seven days. (Asiat. Res., vol. v. p. 263.) But, according to a dramatic poem cited by Major Wilford, the young king, Upadhanwa, shared the imperial power with his seven brothers for twelve years, or till 350 B.C., when Chandragupta was raised to the throne by the intrigues of a wicked and revengeful priest called Chanacya. The accession of Chandragupta, we are told, is a famous era in the chronology of the Hindoos; and the crimes, repentance, and expiatory penance of Chanacya form the subject of many popular legends.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. pp. 94—99.

furnish Seleucus annually with fifty elephants. If the latter article looks like a tribute, the former might seem to be but a royal dower.* In order to confirm and perpetuate this amicable relation between the courts of Babylon and Palibothra, Seleucus sent the celebrated Megasthenes to reside as envoy at the capital of Prachi; and by his knowledge and ability, he restored the commercial intercourse between Persia and India, which had been suspended and almost destroyed by the Macedonian conquests.† Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, and died B.C. 292.‡

In the reign of Allitocrates (or Amitocrates, sup-

* "It may be objected to the foregoing account," remarks Mr. Wilford, "the improbability of a Hindu marrying the daughter of a Yavana, or, indeed, of any foreigner. On this difficulty, I consulted the Pundits of Benares, and they all gave me the same answer, namely, that in the time of Chandragupta, the Yavanas were much respected, and were even considered as a sort of Hindus; though they afterwards brought upon themselves the hatred of that nation by their cruelty, avarice, rapacity, and treachery in every transaction while they ruled over the western parts of India; but that, at any rate, the objection did not apply to the case, as Chandragupta himself was a Sudra, that is to say, of the lowest class (by his mother). The Hindus acknowledged that, formerly, they were not so strict as they are at this day; and this appears from their books to have been the case."—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. pp. 286, 287.

† Dr. Robertson supposes, that Seleucus would have proceeded much further, (Pliny, indeed, represents him as having advanced to the mouth of the Ganges,) had he not been recalled in the midst of his career, to repel the invasion of his western territories by Antigonus. Megasthenes is supposed to give a very exaggerated account of the power and opulence of the *Prasii*. He relates, that he had an audience of Sandracottus in a place where he was encamped with an army of 400,000 men.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 100. Tradition extends the empire of this famous monarch over the greater part of India; and he is said to have built a city in the Deccan, which he called after his own name, and the ruins of which are found below Sri-salam, or Purwutum, on the banks of the Krishna. The inhabitants of the Deccan are familiar with his history.

posod to be a corruption of Mitra-gupta, guarded by the sun *), the son and successor of Chandragupta, Seleucus sent Diamachus as his ambassador, to re-establish an amicable intercourse between the two nations. Long after the death of Seleucus, the alliance was renewed by Antiochus the Great, who, after reducing the revolted provinces of Parthia and Bactria, entered India, and concluded a treaty with Sophagasemus, the grandson of Chandragupta, receiving from him, besides the fifty elephants, a tribute in money.† The Syrian monarchy, after this, became too feeble to retain its hold on these distant conquests; but the Greeks of Bactria, which province threw off the yoke of the *Seleucidæ* long before Parthia, continued to maintain an intercourse with India, and even made some considerable acquisitions of territory in that country. "Concerning the transactions of this kingdom," remarks Dr. Robertson, "we must rest satisfied with gleaning a few imperfect hints in ancient authors. From them we learn, that its commerce with

* The son of Chandragupta is called Varisara and Dasaratha in the native annals; the other was, probably, his surname. A remarkable conformity is observable in this respect between the customs of India and those of Egypt. The Diospolitan sovereigns uniformly assumed a regal surname, by which they claimed to be the favourites of their patron deity; e. g. "the Beloved of Ammon," "Approved of Phré," "Cherished of Hercules," "Established by Phtha," &c. To the many conjectures that have been offered respecting the etymology of Ægyptus, we are tempted to add, that it will, most probably, prove to be a similar title—Aigupta, guarded by Ai or Aia. In fact, Mr. Wilford tells us, that *Ai* corresponds to *Lunus.—Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. p. 487. If so, the true meaning of the title is ascertained to be the same as Chandragupta.

† This inroad of Antiochus, which Robertson mentions only in a note, occurred about a century posterior to the invasion of Seleucus. Sophagasemus, Mr. Wilford supposes to be a corruption of *Shivaca-sena*, implying the merciful.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 266.

India was great; that the conquests of the Bactrian kings in that country were more extensive than those of Alexander himself; and particularly, that they recovered possession of the district near the mouth of the Indus, which he had subdued. Each of the six princes who reigned in Bactria, carried on military operations in India with such success, that they penetrated far into the interior of the country; and proud of the conquests which they had made, as well as of the extensive dominions over which they reigned, some of them assumed the lofty title of Great King, which distinguished the Persian monarchs in the days of their highest splendour.* But we should not have known how long this kingdom of Bactria subsisted, or in what manner it terminated, if M. de Guignes had not called in the historians of China to supply the defects of the Greek and Roman writers. By them we are informed, that, about 126 years before the Christian era, a powerful horde of Tartars pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, passed the Jaxartes, and pouring in upon Bactria like an irresistible torrent, overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an end to the dominion of the Greeks there, after it had been established near 130 years." †

Such is the brief and unsatisfactory manner in which, owing, in part, to want of materials, this writer disposes of one of the most interesting sections

* "In the *Vishnu-purana* and in the *Bhagavat*, it is recorded, that *eight* Grecian kings reigned over part of India. They are better known to us by the title of the Grecian kings of Bactriana." —WILFORD *in Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 287.

† Strabo mentions that the Greeks were deprived of Bactria by tribes or hordes of Scythian nomades, who came from the country beyond the Jaxartes, and were known by the names of *Asii, Pursiani, Tochari*, and *Sacarauli*.—ROBERTSON, *note*, p. 16. In Tochari or Tachari we have th supposed origin of the word Turk.

in the history of ancient India. The connexion between the Bactrian Greeks and the Indians, deserves, however, more specific notice; and the recent discovery of some Greek, Parthian, and Hindoo medals, has thrown considerable light on the obscure annals of this Greek kingdom.

Among the allies of Jara Sandha, mentioned in the *Mahabharat*, it is highly remarkable, Mr. Wilson observes, "that we find a potent king of *Yavana-dwipa* (or Greek land), who is represented as having an unbounded authority, and as reigning over the west, like another Varuna. This passage, and several others, in which the power of the Yavana is spoken of, afford room for presuming, that the date of the composition of that book is posterior to the invasion of India by Alexander. In the *Sri Bhagavat*, the Yavana present themselves under another form, and their name is applied to the Mohammedans. Their prince, who, in the *Mahabharat*, is a powerful monarch, and is only distinguished as one among the numerous allies of Jara Sandha, appears in the *Bhagavat*, on the contrary, as Yavanasur, a Titan, or demon, who attacks Krishna of his own accord, and whose aggression, joined to the approach of Jara Sandha, with whom he is not, however, connected by any confederacy or alliance, compels the demigod Krishna to transport his family to Dwaraka. Subsequently, the latter takes the demon in a snare, and destroys him. The entire story of the war and character of Krishna is, in fact, changed from history into a legend in the *Sri Bhagavat*, which is evidently the most modern of the Puranas." *

* Journal Asiat. t. vii. p. 20. See also Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 507. According to the *Hari-vansa*, which is there cited, this Titan king of the Yavans was Deo-Cal-Yun, or Deucalion.

There can be no doubt that the Yavana is the name given by oriental writers to the Ionians or Greeks.* The followers of the Macedonian conqueror were not, however, the first to whom the name was given; and they might be called such, either from their affinity, real or supposed, to the original inhabitants of *Yavana-dwipa*, or from possessing that country. Supposing it to answer to Bactria, the inhabitants of that territory, whether aboriginal, Greek, or Turkish, would, of course, be alike denominated Yavans. The extent of *Yavana-dwipa*, Mr. Wilson remarks, it is not easy to determine; but, as it comprised Marou (Meru or Meroe) and Naraka, it probably answered to that portion of the modern kingdom of Caubul which embraces the provinces of Balkh and Khorasan, together, perhaps, with part of Sogdiana and Sinde.

On the division of the Macedonian conquests between the Indus and the Caspian, by the successors of Alexander, Bactria and Sogdiana, according to Arrian, fell to Stasanor; Philip had Parthia and Hyrcania; and Pithon, the district east of Bactria, extending towards the territories of Taxiles and Porus, on the Indus. Various unimportant changes took place in this arrangement; but at length, Theodotus, the governor of Bactria under Antiochus Theos, taking advantage of the war between that monarch and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, declared himself independent. This event occurred in the 58th year of the *Seleucidæ*, and 256 B.C. "It is scarcely

* Javan (יון) is written by the LXX. and Josephus, *Iωυαν*. "By this the Hebrews, like the Syrians and Arabians, appear to have understood the Greeks generally."—GESENIUS. The Scholiast on Aristophanes says, that the barbarians call all Greeks Ionians.—CALMET. The Hindoos pronounce it Yowana.

feasible," remarks Colonel Tod, in his Essay on the Bactrian Medals, "to assign precise limits to the Bactrian kingdom, for Bactria was soon overstepped; and what might be termed the Bactrian kingdom at the period of the revolt, comprehended Sogdia as well as the province of Bactria, which had the Oxus or Jihoon as its northern boundary. The kingdom of Theodotus, therefore, included all Transoxiana, or the *Do-âb* of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, (the *Mawer ul Nehr* of the Persians,) and to the south, the Paropamisan range. To the west, it was kept in check by its alternate rival and ally, the *Arsacidæ* of Parthia; but, to the east, its frontier cannot be fixed, for we are left in doubt whether Pithon declared himself independent, or whether the provinces he held gradually merged into Bactria.

"The first Arsaces was a Bactrian by birth, and, with his brother Tiridates, had opposed the ambitious designs of Theodotus; but, being unsuccessful, fled to the governor of Parthia, by whom being treated with indignity, he raised troops, expelled him, and following the example of Theodotus, declared himself independent. Three years after, he was succeeded by his brother Tiridates, who bears on his medals the title of 'Arsaces the Great, king of kings.' That he was much indebted to the Greeks of Bactria, we may judge from the epithet his medals and those of his successors bear, of *Philhellenos*. His friendship for the Greeks can only be understood towards the Bactrian Greeks; for he had scarcely been two years on the throne, when Seleucus Callinicus, having made peace with the Egyptian monarch, left Syria with a large army to recover Parthia; and the 'Great King' was obliged to flee to his Scythic brethren, the Getic

Sacæ of the Jaxartes;* till a rupture between the brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, gave him an opportunity to re-enter Parthia. Seleucus, having prevailed over his rival, resumed his Parthian expedition; but the second Theodotus, who had succeeded to the Bactrian throne, formed a close alliance with Tiridates, and sent him a large body of Bactrian troops, by whose aid Tiridates defeated and made captive the Assyrian monarch. The day on which this battle was fought, became the anniversary of the foundation of Parthian liberty. This alliance sealed the independence of both states; and to this opportune succour afforded by Theodotus, we may ascribe the epithet we have mentioned as freely retained by the successive *Arsacidæ* from a grateful recollection."†

There appear to have been, in fact, no fewer than three Greek kingdoms co-existing at this time in the heart of Asia; the Parthian, the Bactrian, and the Indian. The latter, supposed to have been founded by Apollodotus, seems to have had Sangala or Sagala for its capital, to which Demetrius afterwards gave the name of Euthydemia, in honour of his father. This Demetrius was the son of Euthydemus, third king of Bactria; and, by marrying the daughter of Antiochus the Great, he secured the crown of Bactria to his father against any further attempt from Syria. It has been doubted, however, whether he ever reigned in Bactria, as Euthydemus appears to have been succeeded by his brother, the celebrated Menander, to whom Strabo refers in the following passage: "Some

* *Saca-dwipa*, the country of the Sacæ, is properly placed by D'Anville about the fountains of the Oxus. The Parthians were the *Sacæ* of Asia. Hence the titular appellation of its princes, Arsaces.

† Trans. of Royal Asiat. Society, vol. i. p. 317—20.

of these princes subjugated more nations even than Alexander; especially Menander, who, having passed the Hypanis (or Hyphasis), advanced towards the east as far as the Isamus.* But, if it was to him that the Greeks were chiefly indebted for their conquests, the obligation was in part due to Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. Thus, they subjugated the Patalene; then, spreading over the coast, they conquered the kingdom of Tessarioustus and that of Segestis. These same Greeks carried their victorious arms as far as the countries of the *Syri* (Sauras) and the *Phauni*." Colonel Tod remarks on this passage, that, although it is not expressly asserted by the Greek Geographer, that Menander and Demetrius were contemporary, it is by no means improbable; and their respective conquests might be made in unison, yet in different directions, eastward and southward. The latter is the route of conquest by which they became known to the Author of the Periplus, who has handed down to posterity the names and exploits of Apollodotus and Menander. Their coins were still current at Baroach in the second century.†

* Supposed by the French translator of Strabo to be the Jumna; by Major Wilford conjectured to be the Isa, which flows into the Ganges, and which, though a small stream, formed the boundary between the two Hindoo kingdoms of Delhi and Canouge, seven centuries ago.

† Patalene is derived from the Sanscrit *Patál*, signifying the lower region, and seems to answer to the modern Tatta, in the Delta of the Indus. Its capital, Major Tod thinks, was Minagara, the city of Sambus. The kingdom of Tessarioustus (supposed to be a corruption of *Gojarashtra*) answers to the modern kingdom of Cutch. Segestis is more doubtful; but the learned Writer assigns strong reasons for placing it higher up the Indus, with Arore for its capital, of which the ruins exist seven miles E. of the island of Bukhar or Bachar in Moultan. The latter is the Mansoura of the

Menander seems to have been firmly seated on the throne of Bactria about B.C. 195. After having raised to its highest point of elevation the glory of this Greek monarchy, he was preparing to turn his arms against the Syrian king, when he was seized with a violent fever, which terminated his life. Plutarch tells us, that so highly was this sovereign revered by his subjects, that many cities of his empire contended for his remains: the dispute was terminated by dividing among them equal portions of his ashes, which were deposited in magnificent monuments.

Eucratides I., who succeeded Menander in the kingdom of Bactria, is said to have dispossessed Demetrius of his Indian sovereignty; and, according to Artemidorus, he possessed 5000 cities beyond the Indus! Like the Parthian monarchs, he assumed on his medals the title of the Great King. Eucratides II., in the 110th year of the Bactrian era, succeeded to the throne by the murder of his father; but he did not long enjoy it. The parricide was slain during an invasion of his territories, by the Parthians on one side, and the *Getes* on the other. The latter were in their turn expelled by the Huns. Thus fell the Bactrian kingdom, after it had subsisted 120 years from its foundation. Mithridates, king of Parthia, who had compelled Eucratides to become his tributary previously to the total overthrow of the monarchy, succeeded in establishing himself in all the power which the Greeks ever had in India. He is said, indeed, to have conquered the whole of the countries from the Indus to the Ganges; "and such were his moderation and clemency, that many nations voluntarily submitted to him. Demetrius Nicator, of Syria, endeavoured to

Arabians, and has been supposed by some to be the ancient Minagara, but, according to Colonel Tod, erroneously.

prop the declining cause of the Bactrians, but fell himself into captivity: his son Antiochus was slain in an attempt to release him. The Parthians extended themselves every where, and both they and their foes, the Scythic *Tachari*, had bands of Greeks as allies." *

It is to Mithridates and his successors, or to a minor Greek dynasty in India, that the learned Author of the communication above cited, assigns the numerous Parthian coins found in the neighbourhood of Mathura, Agra, Ujjayan, and Ajmeer. "That they belonged to Parthian and Indo-Scythic kings, who had sovereignties within the Indus, there cannot," he says, "be a doubt." The characters have the appearance of a rude provincial Greek. Among the "thousands" which he has succeeded in collecting, † few, unfortunately, have escaped the corroding tooth of time. But among the more valuable medals with which his researches were rewarded, he obtained from the banks of the Jumna, ‡ an Apollodotus and a Menander, bearing, on the reverse, inscriptions in the ancient Zend or Pehlavi character, as found on the Sassanian medals of Sapor. "The Zend characters,

* Trans. of Royal Asiat. Soc., i. 338—40. See also Maurice's Hindostan, vol. i. book i. c. 4, 5, 6; and Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 78—84. All the coins of the Parthian kings that have been preserved, have Greek legends.

† During a twelve years' residence among the Mahrattas and Rajpoots, the Author accumulated altogether 20,000 coins of all denominations; among which, about 100 he considers as interesting, and about a third of these are valuable as documents.

‡ The Apollodotus was found among the obscure ruins of Surapura, an ancient city, supposed to have been the capital of Surasena, the grandfather of Krishna. There was a Sura, king of Mathura, contemporary with Krishna. Its name would answer to Heliopolis. The ruins are close to the sacred place of pilgrimage called Betaisor, between Agra and Etawah. The Menander was found at Mathura; both within the kingdom of the Suraseni.

common to both these medals," he remarks, "afford a proof which may be considered as decisive, that both these princes held Bactria as the seat of empire; for, though the discovery of these coins gives validity to the reported extent of their conquests, yet, had they held the seat of government within the Indus, they would have adopted the ancient *Nagari* character on the reverse, not that of Parthia."

We now return to the Cashmirian annals. After the death of the young Gonerda, the grandson of Gonerda I., an obscure period ensues. The chasm is filled with thirty-five anonymous kings, probably foreigners, as they are stated not to have been followers of the doctrines of the Veda. After them reigned Lava (the Lou or Loulou of the Mussulman writers), the founder of the city of Lolora, and a patron of the Brahmins. Janaca, one of his successors, is said to have sent one of his sons, at the head of an army, to invade Persia, then under the government of Queen Homäi, but he was repulsed and slain by Darab, son of Bahman. On the death of his son and successor, without issue, the crown of Cashmeer returned to the family of its first sovereigns, and devolved on Asoka, who, according to the *Ayeen Akbari*, abolished the worship of Brahma, and introduced the religion of the Jains; but the Sanscrit original represents him to have been a worshipper of Siva or Mahadeo. In his reign, Cashmeer was invaded by *Mletch'ha* or foreigners, but he repulsed them.

Jaloka, his son and successor, is celebrated as a valorous prince. He vanquished the Buddhists, and drove the remaining *Mletch'ha* entirely out of the country. He then carried his victorious arms, on the one side, into the north of Persia, at that time governed by King Darab, and on the other, subjected the

province of Kanouje. He introduced among his subjects the division into castes, and other customs in use in the neighbouring countries. Although a rigid votary of Siva, he permitted, towards the close of his reign, the free exercise of the Buddhic worship. This was probably owing to the declining influence of the Brahmins, who are said to have transformed, in their wrath, his successor, Damodara, into a serpent. This sovereign was succeeded by three princes of the *Turuchka** race, who divided the kingdom between them, and founded three cities, to which they severally gave their names, Houshka, Joushka, and Kanishka. The worship of Buddha was now established in Cashmeer; and a *bodhisatwa* or pontiff, named Nagarjouna, was appointed, 150 years before the death of Sakyasinha. These three princes were succeeded, perhaps expelled, by Abhimanyoo, who restored the religion of Brahma; and this "reform" was completed by his successor, Gonerda III., whose accession is fixed, in the original, 1182 years B.C.† He re-introduced the worship of the *Naga* (serpents), which is supposed to have been the ancient religion of Cashmeer. A series of princes now succeed, of whose actions nothing is recorded. At length, about 200 years B.C., Mihira Koula ascended the throne, in whose reign the country was filled with *Mletch'ha*. He is said to have been a cruel prince, but a mighty conqueror: he led an army to Ceylon, dethroned its monarch, set up another, and subdued the princes of Chola, Karnata, Lâta, and other kingdoms of the Dekkan, in his way home. To him is assigned, very consistently, a reign of seventy years.

* Supposed by Mr. Wilson to be a Turkish tribe; but M. Klaproth contends that that appellation is of modern origin.

† This remote date cannot be admitted. Mr. Wilson reduces it to B.C. 388.

The sixth next in succession, Gopâditya, was a prince of great piety, whose virtues brought back the golden age. He re-established the strict observance of the Brahminical ritual and institutions. About the time of the Christian era, we find the throne filled by a sovereign of foreign birth, named Pratapaditya, a relation of king Vicramaditya. The Cashmirian annals now become confused and distorted by fable, and several revolutions or changes of dynasty appear to have taken place. The *Gonerdiya* dynasty seems to have been restored in the warlike Megavahana, in the second century of the Christian era. To this monarch also is ascribed, without the slightest probability, the conquest of Lanca or Ceylon. His successor, Pravara-sena, is stated to have extended his empire into Khatai and Chin. His grandson, Pravara-sena II., about A.D. 476, built the new city of Srinagar, on the Jelum. Another *hiatus* now occurs; and the last of the Gonerda race closed his reign about the end of the sixth century.*

The king Vicramaditya above referred to, appears to be the celebrated Bickermajit of Ferishta, who, by a series of bold exploits, attained the supreme sovereignty of India in the 56th year before the Christian era. It will now be necessary to advert again to the history of the Magadha sovereigns. After the death of the grandson of Chandragupta, the throne of Palibothra is stated to have been successively filled by seven Maurya kings of the family of Chandragupta, or sons of the moon, and ten of the Surya-varsha, or solar kings. It was the eighth of the latter dynasty, whose reign forms so splendid an era in the Hindoo annals. A most magnificent account is given of him

* *Journal Asiat.*, tom. vii. pp. 22—31.

in all the native histories, of which Mr. Maurice gives the following abstract.

"He is recorded to have been unequalled by any former king of the country in the science of jurisprudence, governing in fortitude, in justice, and in wisdom; and to have travelled in the habit of a mendicant over a great part of the East, in order to acquire the arts, learning, and policy of foreign nations, and transplant them into his own. He was even thought to have taken up arms by the Divine command, as Rama of old, to purge the empire of vice and tyranny; and he exalted aloft, in the centre of the land, the standard of equity and the banners of religion. He rapidly subdued the kingdoms of Malva and Gujerat, and rendered all the other great feudatories dependent upon his sovereign will. Both poets and historians are uniform in their praise of this great and just man. The former, to impress us with an adequate idea of his inflexible justice, affirm, that the magnet, without his permission, dared not exert its power upon iron, nor amber upon the chaff of the field; and the latter add, that, such was his temperance and contempt of grandeur, he slept upon a mat, and reduced the furniture of his apartment to an earthen pot filled with water from the spring. He was also a munificent patron of learning; and the poet and philosopher Calidas, who flourished in his reign, was particularly protected by him. The latter was considered as the chief of fourteen learned Brahmins whom Bickermajit invited to his court from different parts of Hindostan, and who were denominated the fourteen jewels of his crown. To animate the religious zeal of the inferior classes, he set up the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, in the city of Oojein, which he built, while he himself worshipped only the infinite and invisible God.

"The Hindoos retain such a respect for the memory of Bickermajit, that most of them to this day calculate their civil time from the period of his inauguration. The famous Sapor, king of Persia, is placed, in the Indian chronology, as contemporary with this renowned king of Malva.* He was slain in his old age, about the commencement of the Christian era, in a battle against a confederacy of the princes of the Deccan."†

After the demise of Bickermajit, Ferishta tells us, the empire fell into anarchy and confusion. The great vassals of the crown assumed, or rather resumed their independence; and the name of emperor was obliterated from the minds of the people. In the Magadha annals, the *Surya-varshas* were succeeded by four monarchs of the Canwa race. Sisuman, the last of these, was assassinated by his prime minister, Sipraca, one of the Andhra tribe, who usurped the throne of Magadha, A.D. 151. About forty years after, Sudraca, the first of the Andhra Jatica dynasty, in like manner dethroned his master, and assumed the crown. This was the famous Sri Carna Deva, or Maha Carni, who, in an ancient grant found at Benares, in 1801,‡ styles himself sovereign of Tri

* If so, he must have reigned in the third century after the Christian era; and Ferishta has confounded him with another Vicramaditya, to whom Mr. Wilford thinks this account applies—the famous Sri Carna Deva.—*Asiat. Res.*, ix. 107, 146.

† Maurice's Hindostan, i. 68—70. See also Dow's Hindostan, i. 10—12. Although styled by Ferishta, king of Malwah, he became such only by conquest, and the original seat of his empire was Magadha. He is stated to have subdued, either in person, or by his generals, *Madhya-desa* (Central India), *Dacshina-patha* (the Deccan), Cashmeer, Saurashtra, and the countries E. of the Ganges; and to have made the king of Sinhala (or Ceylon) sue for peace.—See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. pp. 127, 166.

‡ This grant, which was found at the bottom of a dry well in the

Calinga (the three shores), by which we are to understand, according to Mr. Wilford, the countries bordering on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal.* According to the Puranas, he reigned twenty-three years,† and was succeeded by his brother Crishna, who reigned eighteen years; to whom succeeded his son, who reigned fifty-six years. This brings us to the close of the third century. The last monarch of this dynasty, which appears to have occupied the throne of Magadha for the long period of 450 years, was Puliman or Puloma the pious, who, after conquering all India, put an end to his life, in the year 648, by drowning himself in the holy waters of the Ganges,

old fort, is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the imperial seal representing Parvati with four arms, sitting between two elephants with uplifted trunks; below is the bull Nandi, and betweeen it and Parvati, the monarch's title, *Sri-Carnna-Deva*. The grant is dated the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to A.D. 192.—*As. Res.* ix. 168.

* "By Calinga, the Pauranics understand the sea-coasts at the summit of the Bay of Bengal, from Point Godavery to Cape Negrais. It is divided into three parts. Calinga Proper extends from Point Godavery to the western branch of the Ganges: the inhabitants of the country are called *Colingæ* by Ælian and Pliny. *Madhya Calinga* (Middle Calinga) is in the Delta of the Ganges, and is corruptly called *Modo*-Galinca by Pliny. *Moga Calinga* extends from the eastern branch of the Ganges to Cape Negrais, in the country of the Mugs: this is obviously the *Macco Calingæ* of Pliny. Calinga implies a country abounding with creeks."—*As. Res.*, vi. 529.

† This would not make him contemporary with Shapoor, who did not ascend the throne till A.D. 241; so that Ferishta's statement strictly applies to neither of the Vicramadityas. According to Mr. Wilford, that title was borne by, or is applied to, no fewer than eight or nine different monarchs. The third Vicramaditya ascended the throne of Malwah, A.D. 441. He is supposed to have been the son of Bahram Gour, king of Persia, by an Indian princess, the daughter of Bas Deo, king of Canoje; and Mr. Wilford is disposed to identify him with Yezdijird II. The amours of Bahram and Gulendam are a popular subject all over Persia as well as India.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. pp. 147—162.

after the example of his grandfather, who closed a brilliant career of conquest by a similar act of fanaticism. From this monarch, the last of his race, India was called by the Chinese *Poulomuen-koue*, the country of Puliman; * while in the west, the fame of the Andhra princes occasioned the inhabitants of the Gangetic provinces to be denominated Andhra Hindoos.† The Seven Carnas of this race are said to be held in the highest veneration all over India; and their fame has extended to the peninsula of Malacca, Carna, the Maha Rajah of India, being a favourite subject of the Malayan poetry.‡

Puliman was the last of the Magadha sovereigns who was at the same time Maha Rajah or Emperor of India. After his death, the Andhra Bhrityas seized upon the empire, and divided it among themselves. Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Maithila or Tirhoot, Oude, Kanouje, Carnadesa, Tumlook (Tamralipta) in

* The date of his conquests, according to the Chinese annals, was A.D. 621; that of his death, 648. He is called by the Chinese, Houlomien or Houlomiento.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. p. 111.

† The ancestors of Sri Carna Deva, the founder of the second Andhra dynasty, were of the Haihaya tribe, whose original seat was the district of Gauda, on the banks of the Nerbuddah, in Malwah. They afterwards became sovereigns of the country of Andhra on the Coromandel coast, extending from Nellore to the Godavery. Here, they were contemporaneous with the Canwa dynasty of Magadha kings at the beginning of the Christian era. At that time, Pliny represents the *Andarœ* kings as very powerful, possessing no fewer than thirty fortified cities and an army of 100,000 men, including 2000 cavalry with 1000 elephants. It is not clear, whether it was a collateral branch, or these same Andhras, who became possessed of the Gangetic kingdom. According to the Peutingerian Tables, the *Andrí-Indi* lived along the banks of the Ganges; the name of the dynasty being apparently applied to the inhabitants of Eastern India, in the same manner as they were more anciently called Pallibothrans.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. p. 100—104, 112.

‡ *Ib.* vol. ix. pp 114, 106; vol. iv. p. 233.

Bengal, and Gaur, each became the capital of a petty monarchy. The sovereigns of Gaur or Bengal were the first that became sufficiently powerful to be troublesome neighbours; and they subsequently extended their empire as far as Benares. The city of Gaur or Gauda rose to be the first city in Gangetic India, succeeding to the fame, and probably the commercial greatness of Palibothra, the very name of which is almost effaced from every record, and even from the remembrance of the Hindoos. The kings of Gaur assumed the title of Maha Rajah so late as the fifteenth century. In the meantime, the Punjaub and western provinces appear to have been ravaged by the White Huns, who even seem to have established themselves in the northern parts of India.* Orissa, Gujerat, and the provinces of the Peninsula, had also their dynasties, their civil contests and petty revolutions, of which there are obscure traces in the legendary fables of the country. To these we shall have occasion to advert in reviewing the customs, religion, and antiquities of the Hindoos. The general history of India presents no remarkable feature, from the dismemberment of the Magadha empire in the seventh century, to the Mohammedan conquests in the beginning of the eleventh.† Before, however, we proceed to review this

* "They succeeded the Parthians, and seem to be the same with the *Murundas*, whose thirteen kings ruled in the northern parts of India, immediately after the *Tusharas* or Parthians. These are the *Morundæ* of Ptolemy, who were masters of the whole country to the north of the Ganges, from Delhi to Gaur in Bengal. They are declared in the Puranas to be *Mlech'has*, impure tribes, and of course they were foreigners. Cosmas calls them White Huns."—*Asiat. Res.*, ix. 113.

† We reserve for another place, an account of the progress of Christianity in India. The tradition of the Syrian churches is, that the Apostle Thomas visited the Peninsula in person, and converted

second period, from which commences the modern history of Hindostan, we must take a retrospect of the commercial and political relations which connected India with the other countries of the ancient world.

From the earliest ages, there is reason to believe, that the productions of India were among the principal articles of mercantile traffic; and that to obtain and transport these, was the object of the first commercial adventurers. Even prior to the era of Moses, the communication with India was open; and among the various branches of Sabean and Phenician commerce, that which was carried on between India and the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, may be regarded, perhaps, as the most considerable and the most lucrative. It is probable, that the first traders would not venture beyond a coasting voyage; and the earliest *entrepôts* would therefore be on the shores of the Sea of Omaun, and at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. A trade corresponding, in fact, to that which is still carried on between Bombay and Muscat, must have existed in all ages. As vessels coming with the monsoon for the Gulf of Persia, make Muscat, so, those bound for Hadramaut or Aden, run down their longitude to the coast of Africa. Here, too, therefore, Dr. Vincent has remarked, from the earliest periods that the monsoons were known to the Ara-

the king of Meliapore, whence he proceeded to Cambala in China, and there he built a church! The bishop of the Malabar churches, by virtue of this apostolical succession, subscribes himself "metropolitan of Hindoo and China." It is probable, that the knowledge of the Christian religion was first propagated in Southern India from Alexandria. A primate of India was present at the council of Nice, A.D. 325; and in the following year, Frumentius was consecrated Primate of India by Athanasius, at Alexandria.

bian traders, would marts be established.* The Egyptians themselves were not navigators, but their country necessarily became the channel of a large portion of the Indian trade, as well as of that of Ethiopia; and Thebes and Coptos no doubt owed to that commerce their wealth and greatness. Another line of communication was from the port of Eziongeber at the head of the Ælanitic Gulf, overland to Rhinocolura. "Thither," Dr. Robertson remarks, "all the commodities brought from India were conveyed overland, by a route much shorter and more practicable than that by which the productions of the East were carried, at a subsequent period, from the opposite shores of the Arabian Gulf to the Nile. At Rhinocolura they were re-shipped, and transported by an easy navigation to Tyre, and distributed through the world. This, as it is the earliest route of communication with India of which we have any authentic description, had so many advantages over any ever known before the modern discovery of a new course of navigation to the East, that the Phenicians could supply other nations with the productions of India in greater abundance, and at a cheaper rate, than any people of antiquity. To this circumstance, which for a considerable time secured to them a monopoly of that trade, was owing, not only the extraordinary wealth of individuals, which rendered the merchants of Tyre princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth;† but the extensive power of the state itself, which first taught mankind what vast resources a commercial people possess, and what great exertions they are capable of making." ‡

Besides the maritime trade, a commercial commu-

* Vincent's Periplus, i. 61. See Mod. Trav., Egypt, i. 63—68.
† Isa. ch. xxiii. v. 8. ‡ Robertson's India, sect. i. Rennell, xxxv.

nitation with India appears to have been maintained by the Persians and Assyrians, by way of Bactria and the Caspian provinces; and this was probably the most ancient of all. Of the existence of an early intercourse between Persia and India, there are abundant traces in the language, legends, and religion of the respective nations. The Zend, the sacred language of ancient Persia, is only a dialect of the Sanscrit; and between the Kourdish and Loorish dialects and the Hindostanee, there is a considerable affinity. The Sabian idolatry appears to have been common to the two countries; and what is still more remarkable, a famous resort of Hindoo fire-worshippers is found on the western shores of the Caspian.* Balkh, the mother of cities, the Mecca of the Magians, the capital of Persia in the ages of fable, and, in later times, of a Greek kingdom, could not have owed to any other cause than its advantageous position for commerce, its consequence and wealth. Every thing points to Bactra as to the very centre of early civilization, "the key of central Asia, and the link between the east and the west." It was, in fact, the grand rendezvous on the high road from the Caspian gates, not only to the country of the *Indi*, but to Sogdiana and Serica; and by this route, a commercial intercourse was maintained between China and ancient Europe. The produce of India was, in like manner, transported on the backs of camels from the banks of the Indus to those of the Oxus; down which river they were conveyed to the Caspian Sea, and distributed, partly by land-carriage and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine. The magnitude and value of this commerce may be

* According to Texeira, the province of Ghilan bore the appellation of *Hindu-al-asfar*, Yellow India.—*As. Res.*, vol. iii. p. 78.

inferred from the circumstance mentioned by Pliny, that Selencus Nicator, at the time of his assassination, entertained thoughts of forming a junction between the two seas by means of a canal.* A branch of this commerce was carried on overland by way of the Caspian gates and the great caravan routes to Mesopotamia and Syria. It appears to have been exclusively from the Persians, that Herodotus derived the slender information which he possessed concerning India and its inhabitants; and the importance of the Indian trade carried on through the Persian dominions, affords the only adequate explanation of the fact which he mentions, that, under Darius Hystaspes, the Indian satrapy furnished a tribute of gold equal to 4680 Eubean talents of silver, being nearly a third of the whole annual revenue drawn from the twenty satrapies into which the kingdom was divided.

Major Rennell remarks, that "the communication by land between the Syrian empire and India, was dropped very early; for Bactria soon became independent, and by that means the link of the chain, that connected India with Syria, was broken." But although the political dependence of India on Persia was dissolved, and the further exploration of Asia by conquest was precluded by the rise of the Parthian monarchy, the stream of commerce continued, with occasional interruptions, to flow in its accustomed channel. "It appears certain," remarks Dr. Murray, "that, about the beginning of the Christian era, two great lines of commercial intercourse had been fully established; one by sea to India, the other by land across Asia to the borders of China." The outline of this great inland route is thus traced on the autho-

* *Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. vi. c. 11*, cited by Robertson.

rity of Ptolemy. "In setting out from Byzantium, the caravan proceeded first nearly due E., through Asia Minor, to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis, about twenty miles S. of Beer.* Proceeding still E., and crossing the Tigris, they came to Ecbatana (Hamadan.)† Thence, in the same direction, they passed through the Caspian gates, and came to Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia, supposed to be the modern Damghaun. It was now necessary to turn northward into Hyrcania (Astrabad), and to pass through the capital (Gourgaun).‡ The course next took a bend to the south, in order to reach Aria (Herat), which has always been a great centre of Asiatic commerce. A long route, almost due N., was now to be made, in order to reach Antioch, the capital of Margiana, a city founded by Alexander, and called at present Meru Shah Jehan. The line again became nearly E., till their arrival at Bactria. Soon after, they took a N.E. direction, probably up the course of the Oxus; and they had then to ascend the mountains of Beloor to the elevated plain of Pameer, which carried them S.E. into Little Thibet. They then proceeded northward, apparently tracing upwards the course of the river of Ladauk. They came next to a remarkable place called the Stone Tower, of which, however, no description is given. At some distance beyond was a

* Palmyra owed to its happy position in this route, its commercial wealth and political importance. Under the *Seleucidæ*, it attained its highest degree of splendour; and when Syria became a Roman province, this little republic maintained its independence for upwards of two centuries, its friendship being courted alike by the Romans and the Parthians, while it traded with both.—See Mod. Trav. Syria, vol. ii. pp. 20—22.

† Still the great thoroughfare from the north to Bagdad.—See Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. ii. p. 259.

‡ See the route from Tehraun to Mushed.—Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. ii. pp. 245—9.

grand rendezvous of the merchants, who assembled there for the purpose of surmounting, by their united efforts, a formidable barrier which there presented itself. This was the great range of Imaus, which is described by Ptolemy as first passing eastward along the frontier of India, then turning N., and stretching far into Scythia; which vast region it divided into two portions, Scythia within and Scythia without Imaus. This Scythian Imaus is probably the range called the *Moox Taugh*, which the Indians consider as a mere branch of the Himalaya. From the above-mentioned rendezvous of the caravans, no further details are given; and it is only mentioned, that the journey thence to the capital of Serica occupied seven months.*

That there was a constant commercial intercourse between China and India, and even Ceylon, about the beginning of the Christian era, is attested by Pliny, in a passage cited by Major Wilford; which at the same time establishes the fact, that a regular communication was carried on with the Chinese by the Roman merchants.† According to Ptolemy, there were two roads from China to India; one leading through Bactra to Barygaza, and the other to Palibothra. With regard to the former, the Author of the Periplus states, that caravans from *Thinæ* (supposed to be Tsinan in Shangtong) came regularly by the way of Bactria to Barygaza; a land communication which still exists.‡ And the importance of this line of route may be inferred from the fact, that the Greek monarchs of Bactria found it necessary to extend their conquests in this direction, and to possess

* Murray's Hist. of Discoveries in Asia, vol. i. pp. 33, 47—9.

† As. Res. vol. ix. p. 40. See Mod. Trav. Persia, &c., vol. ii. p. 273. ‡ Murray, vol. i. p. 477.

themselves of the districts of Tatta and Moultan, adjacent to the mouth of the Indus. Barygaza (supposed to be the modern Broach or Barigosha in Gujerat) seems to have been, at one time, in relation to ancient commerce, what Cambay and Surat have since been.* Besides this route to the coast, another practicable road leads from Balkh over the Hindoo Koosh, into Caubnl, whence there is an easy access to the Punjaub, crossing the Indus at Attok ; † while another route leads off from Herat, through Candahar, to Moultan, Hissar, and Delhi, avoiding almost the whole of the mountainous country.

From the Indus to Palibothra, what was called the Royal or Nyssæan Road, was traced out with particular care; and at the end of every *coss* (10 *stadia* or 1.23 mile British) a small column was erected to mark the distances. Major Wilford gives the following account of this route, as the result of a careful collation of Pliny, the Peutingerian Tables, and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna :—From the ferry of *Tor Beilam* on the Indus, to Taxila, now Rubbaut; thence to Rotas (Ruytas or Rhodoes), where it is joined by the road from Attok ;—to the ferry over the

* The Gulf of Cambay was called *Sinus Barygazenus*.—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 114.

† "The high lands that surround this confined country (Caubul), and in which the several branches of the Sinde take their rise, are, in truth, the key to Hindostan. The emperor Akbar was so convinced of the importance of this elevated region, that he caused a strong fortress to be built at Attok, near the confluence of the river of that name with the Indus; satisfied that by this route, across the Punjaub by Lahore, there was nothing to impede a large army in its advance upon Delhi and Agra. It was, in fact, by this route that Timour invaded India; that Baber made five different incursions into Hindostan; and that Nadir Shah, in later times, made himself master of that country."—QUART. REV. No. LXXI. p. 133.

Hydaspes or Jelum, and Alexandria-Bucephalos;—to the Acesines or Chunaub, and the town of Spatura;—to the Hydraotes (or Rauvee) and Laboca (supposed to be Lahore);—to the Hyphasis, and afterwards the Zadadrus (Satadru), and the town of Tahora or Tihotra, the birth-place of Sami-devi;—to Ketrora or Cshetriwara in the Lacky Jungle;—to the Jumna at Cunjpoora, and to the Ganges at Hastinapoor (Bacinora, Storna), about twenty miles S.W. of Daranagur;—to Calinipaxa* on the river Calini;—to Rodapha (Rhodopa, Rapphe);—to Allahabad, and thence, along the southern bank of the Ganges, by Sagala (Mirzapoor), to Palibothra.† The total distance from the Indus to Allahabad appears to be, by this route, 1040 miles; and from Allahabad to Palibothra, about 400 or 430 more.‡

The direct road from the Gangetic provinces to China, is represented as coming from Carsania in the Gangetic provinces, supposed to be Carjuna, near

* Conjectured by Major Rennell to be Canoge.

† As. Res., vol. ix. pp. 51—7. See also Rennell, p. 51.

‡ No point in ancient geography has been more contested, than the site of this celebrated capital of the *Prasii*. D'Anville, who is followed by Dr. Robertson, placed it at Allahabad. This is certainly sanctioned by Arrian's account, who clearly refers to the Jumna under the name of the Erannoboas, which, he says, is reckoned the third river in India. Major Rennell, at one time, conjectured it to be Canoge, but subsequently adopted the opinion that it was unquestionably Patna. We have placed it, (p. 108,) on the authority of Major Wilford, at Raj-mehal, about twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Coosy and the Ganges. Dr. Murray fixes it at Boglipoor (or Bhagalpoor); but he admits that this as ill agrees with the statement of Pliny on the one hand, as Patna does on the other. According to Pliny, from the junction of the Jumna with the Ganges to Palibothra, was a distance of 425 miles; and from Palibothra to the mouth of the Ganges, was 638. From Allahabad to Patna, it is not much above 200 miles. See Murray's Discoveries, vol. i. pp. 487—492. Rennell, pp. 50—54. Robertson's India, *note* xiv. Rooke's Arrian, vol. ii. pp. 192—203.

Burdwan; and passing by Scobaru (Cucshabaru), near Jarbarry, to the N. of Dinagepoor, to Aspacora or Aspacara in Tibet; where it met another road from Tahora and Hari-dwar.* It is supposed to have been by this route, that the Cingalese and Malays traded to China. "There can be no doubt," remarks Major Wilford, "that they went first by sea to the country of Magadha or the Gangetic provinces, where their legislator Buddha was born, and his religion flourished in the utmost splendour. There they joined in a body with the caravans of that country, and went to China, through what Ptolemy and the Author of the Periplus call the great route from Palibothra to China. It was in consequence of this commercial intercourse, that the religion of Buddha was introduced into that vast empire in the year 65 A.D.; and from that era, we may date the constant and regular intercourse between Magadha and China, till the extirpation of the religion of Buddha and the invasion of the Mussulmans." †

That the trade of Palibothra and of the kingdom of Magadha, in the days of its splendour, was very considerable, is attested by Ptolemy, the Author of the Periplus, the Peutingerian Tables, and, in later times,

* Asiat. Res., ix. 58, 59.

† Asiat. Res., ix. p. 41. In citing the statements of Major Wilford, the Editor is quite aware of the very doubtful nature of many of his ingenious hypotheses, and of the apocryphal character of much of the supposed information upon which he too credulously relied. But, without suffering ourselves to be misled by his learned reveries, we may be allowed to avail ourselves of his unquestioned learning and extensive research on points on which he was not likely to be deceived by his pundits. M. Klaproth tells us, that, when in London, he was told by several members of the Asiatic Society, that Wilford was master of (*possédât parfaitement*) the Sanscrit and the vernacular languages of Hindostan, but "*il manquait totalement de critique.*"—Journal Asiat., tom. vii. p. 14.

by the Chinese historians, and by Mohammedan travellers. The merchants of Magadha, we are told, formed not only a peculiar class, but a particular tribe called the *Magadhi*. Magadha had also its bards and learned men; and "it is universally acknowledged," says Major Wilford, "that the kings of Magadha gave every possible encouragement to learning, which they endeavoured to diffuse through all classes, by encouraging learned men to write in the spoken dialect of the country. Tradition says, that there were treatises on almost every subject in the Magadhi or Pali dialect. I believe that they were doomed to oblivion by the Brahminical class, who by no means encourage the composing of books in the vulgar dialects. Should they exist, they are to be found among the followers of Jina."* The fact, that the worship of Buddha was not introduced into China prior to the first century of the Christian era, seems to prove, however, that there was little or no intercourse between China and the Gangetic provinces in more ancient times; and the chief trade of Palibothra must have been carried on by means of the Ganges and the Indus.

The maritime trade with India was long monopolized by Egypt, which, under the Ptolemys, became transformed into a naval power. The old Egyptians were never navigators; the ships of all nations except their own, laded in their harbours; and their merchants contented themselves with being the factors of the lucrative trade of which the Nile was the channel. Thebes and Memphis, their two most famous capitals, were consequently both inland. The system of the Macedonian monarchs was the reverse; and on taking possession of Egypt, Ptolemy transferred the

* Asiat. Res., ix. 75,

seat of government to the capital which Alexander had founded with the express view of making it the emporium of the Indian trade, and which grew up to be the first mart in the world. The most strenuous exertions of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt were devoted to the promotion of commerce and geographical discovery. "Their immense library contained copies of all the memoirs and documents written by the officers who attended Alexander on his grand expedition. These, with other materials, were, for the first time, embodied by Eratosthenes, the librarian, into a general system of geography, calculated for the use both of the learned and the mercantile reader. Aided by these lights, and stimulated by their own enterprise, the merchants of Alexandria did not long content themselves with receiving Indian goods by the channel of Arabia Felix. The first recorded voyage to India is said to have been performed by an adventurer of the name of Eudoxus, who afterwards employed all his efforts in attempting to circumnavigate Africa. The details of his voyage are not given; nor is there any other account of the steps by which the vessels of Egypt found their way into the Indian seas. Our only full knowledge of this navigation is derived from the valuable work entitled, The Periplus of the Erythrean sea.*

"The port which formed the centre of almost all the Egyptian navigation on the Red Sea, was Berenice. As it would have been too arduous an undertaking for ancient navigators, to steer directly across the Gulf, they began with sailing up to Myos Hormus (N. of Cosseir), whence, by keeping in view Cape

* Translated and illustrated by the learned Dr. Vincent. The Author, Arrian, is supposed to have been an Alexandrian merchant in the reign of Claudius Cæsar.

Mahomed, they could reach the other side without quite losing sight of land. They touched first at *Leuke Kome* (the fair village), the modern Moilah. Hence they communicated with Petra, the capital of Idumea, which, while the policy of Egypt remained inimical to commerce, had been the emporium of almost all the commodities of India, whether brought up the Red Sea or by the caravans across Arabia. Now, however, when this trade centered in Egypt, and Alexandria was become the commercial metropolis of the world, the port of *Leuke Kome* sank into a secondary mart; though a garrison was still maintained there, to collect a duty of 25 per cent. on all the cargoes landed. After leaving this place, they had a long course to make along a truly dangerous coast, beset with rocks, and affording neither roadstead nor harbour. If they were thrown on the coast, or even approached too near, they were attacked by the barbarous inhabitants, who plundered the vessels and made slaves of the crews. Contrary, therefore, to the general practice of antiquity, they stood out as far as possible to sea, till they came to *Gebel Tor*, on the borders of the modern Yemen. Here they found a mild and friendly people, subsisting by pasturage and agriculture, and affording full protection to merchants and visiters. The principal port was Moosa,* which had no harbour, but a good road." †

After passing the straits of Babelmandeb, they sailed 120 miles, and came to the excellent harbour, called by the Romans *Arabiæ Felicis Emporium*, the modern Aden. This had been a place of extensive

* The modern village of Moosa is a considerable way inland, but is supposed to mark the site of the ancient port, the waters of the gulf having retired in this place. See MOD. TRAV., *Arabia*, 330.

† Murray, i. 33—6.

trade, when it formed the *entrepôt* of the Indian commodities destined for the Egyptian market; but, with a view to secure the monopoly to Egypt, the Romans completely destroyed it.* The traders continued to coast it to Cape Fartakh (the *Syagros* of the Periplus), and thence to Muskat, and Ras el Had.† After passing the Persian Gulf, they appear to have sailed by aid of the monsoon, without approaching very near the southern coast of Persia. The first ports which they entered for the purposes of trade, were named Minagara (supposed to be Debeil), and Barbarike (*Barbaricum Emporium*), at the mouth of the Indus. After passing that river, the most remarkable feature in the coast was the Gulf of Eirin (the modern Cutch), which was then, as now, unfrequented by mariners. Every care was, indeed, taken to avoid it, since the swell was so great, the shallows so frequent, and the bottom so bad, that a vessel, when once drawn in, was considered as lost. After passing Diu Head, they sailed northward up the Gulf of Barygaza. The city of that name, the grand Indian emporium, was thirty miles up the river, in a territory the capital of which was Ozene (Oojein), and which, like all the coast from the Indus, was subject to the same sovereign as Minagara and Barbarike belonged to. Both here and at Minagara, it was necessary to propitiate the king by liberal presents of the best wine, cloth, perfumes, plate, musical instruments, and female slaves. The exports from the

* Subsequently, its commerce revived; and in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, it maintained an extensive intercourse with India and China; but it was again devastated in the wars between the Turks and the Portuguese. Mocha has succeeded to its trade.

† See a description of this coast in Mod. Trav., Arabia, 307—13.

Indus consisted of silk, cotton, emeralds, sapphires, costus, bdellium, and spikenard: those of Barygaza were muslins, cottons, porcelain, pepper, spikenard, costus, and bdellium.*

In sailing southwards from Barygaza, along the coast of the *Dachanabades* (Deccan), the navigators found the ports of Akabaroos, Oopara, and Kalliena (Kallianee near Bombay). Then succeeded a long extent of coast infested by pirates, answering to that of Concan, which is still called the pirate coast. It terminated at Leuke, the Angedive Islands, a little to the south of Goa; beyond which began the coast of Limyrica, the modern Canara, characterized by the three ports of *Tyndis* (Barceloor), *Musiris* (Mangaloor), and *Nelcynda* (Nelisuram).† The last of these was the most considerable place, and seems to have been the chief emporium of this part of India. The staple export from this coast was, as in the present day, pepper, together with pearls, silk, ivory, betel, spikenard, diamonds, hyacinths, amethysts, and tortoise-shell. This list, including the most valuable of the commodities furnished by the countries to the eastward, indicates this to have been the furthest point to which the Roman fleets were accustomed to sail. Hippalus, the Roman commander of an Egyptian East Indiaman, was the first who ventured to relinquish the circuitous coasting voyage, and to stretch boldly across from the Persian Gulf, with the western monsoon, to Musiris. Of such importance was this discovery deemed, which dates from about fourscore

* See page 66.

† According to Dr. Vincent. Major Rennell supposes Barcelore to be the ancient *Barace; Tyndis* he places at Goa; and fixes *Musiris* at Meerjaow (Meerzaw or Midijay), 80 miles S.S.E. of Goa.—RENNELL, pp. xxxviii. and 28.

years after the annexation of Egypt to the Roman empire, that the name of the adventurous navigator was given to the wind which enabled him to perform the voyage. It is probable, indeed, that the Roman obtained his information from some of the Arabian or Indian navigators; but whosoever first achieved the mighty voyage, it opened the best communication between the East and the West that was known during a period of 1400 years.*

After passing Nelisuram, the coast down to Cape Comorin (*Comara promontorium*), was called Paralia, and belonged to the kingdom of Pandion, the sovereign of Madura, or Pandi-mandalam, in the Carnatic.† Beyond Comara, the great pearl fishery began: the coast and capital are called Colchi, the modern Kilkary. Almost the only other place on the Coromandel coast that can be made out in Arrian's statement, which now becomes vague and erroneous, is Masalia, now Masulipatam. He mentions also the country on the Ganges as the seat of a great trade, and of the finest manufactures. Ptolemy, who wrote a century later, discovers better information. He is

* Dr. Robertson gives the details of the voyage from Pliny. From Alexandria, the cargo destined for India was first sent up the Nile to Coptos (303 miles), which occupied 12 days. It had then to be transported overland to Berenice, distant 258 miles, which occupied 12 days more. From that port, vessels sailed about Midsummer for *Ocelis* (Gella), at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, or Maculla Bay, a voyage of 30 days; and in 40 days more, they reached Musiris. The voyage from Ocelis to Musiris would be 15 days' run for a European ship in modern times, being about 1750 marine miles in a straight course; and the time occupied by the whole transport from Alexandria (94 days), is almost sufficient for the average length of the voyage from Portsmouth to Madras.—Robertson, § 2, and note 16. Rennell, p. xxxvi.

† From Pandion, the monarch of this territory, as well as from another Indian prince, called Porus, Augustus received an embassy while at Samos.

the first who describes Taprobana (Ceylon) as an island, and mentions the Maldives. His *Nigama* is obviously Negapatam; *Chaberis* is the Cavery; the *Mæsolus* is the Krishna; and his *Paralia Soratanum*, or maritime country of the *Soræ*, answers to the modern Coromandel (or *Cholomandala*), which may have been pronounced *Sora-mandalam*. *Arcata*, the capital of Sora, is probably Arcot, although the present town of that name, the capital of the lower Carnatic, is of modern date, and does not occupy an ancient site. *Maliarpha* is represented by Meliapoor (properly *Mailapuram*, the city of peacocks); a city formerly powerful, although the importance of the place, possessed by the Portuguese under the name of San Thome, is now merged in the political ascendancy of Madras. Beyond *Mesolia* (Masulapitam), Ptolemy mentions *Palura* (Sipeler), *Cocala* (Cicacole, in the Northern Circars), and *Calinga* (Calingapatam). The position of another *Palura* corresponds to Balasore in Orissa, situated on the Booree-Bellaun river, by which there appears to have been a communication, by canals, with the Ganges. Beyond the latter river, occurs the name of the *Kirrhadæ*, conjectured by Dr. Vincent to be Arracan. Then follows the Golden Chersonese, "a region dimly celebrated in antiquity," and the varying descriptions of which render it difficult to fix its true situation. There seems, however, little room to doubt, that Cape Romania is the *Magnum Promontorium* of Ptolemy; and *Zaba*, which he makes to be the principal port on this side of the cape, answers to Batu Sabor on the river Johore, towards the extremity of the Peninsula.*

* Murray's Hist., i. 33—45. D'Anville, ii. 113—124. Vincent's Periplus, vol. ii. *passim*. Rennell, pp. xxxvii—lx. If the Golden Peninsula be, as we are disposed to believe, the Malayan peninsula, the *Magnus Sinus* must be the Gulf of Siam; (M. Gosselin sup-

This famous emporium, which continued to be such till the time of the two Mussulman travellers translated by Ronaudot, gave name to the empire of *Zabaja*, which comprehended the adjacent island of Sumatra, called *Jaba-diu*. The wars of its Maharajah with the king of *Al Comr* (Comorin) are mentioned by the Mohammedan travellers, who state, moreover, that the town of Calabar, on the Coromandel coast, belonged to the Maharajah of *Zabaje*.* In the ninth century, the date of these travels, the Malayan empire appears to have been in its greatest splendour. It may, however, be safely concluded, that, at a much earlier period, Malaya, as well as Ceylon, was the seat of a powerful state. The Malays have always been a maritime people, and seem in all ages to have traded with India and the African coast. Their language is said to be a mixture of Coptic, Sanscrit, and Arabic. They would seem, indeed, to be the genuine descendants of the first mariners and carriers of the Indian seas. Such being the case, it was inevitable that they should, either as peaceful colonists or as conquerors, possess themselves of some portion of the maritime districts of the Peninsula; and we may be sure, that the combat between Rama with his monkeys and the king of Lanca or Ceylon, was not the only contest in

poses it to be that of Martaban;) and Cattigara, which has been supposed to be Tenasserim, must answer to Bankok, the southern *Thinæ* being the capital of Siam (Yuthia).

* Asiat. Res., ix. 38. Dr. Murray, in adverting to these travels, says: "Zapage suggests the Zipangu of Marco Polo, or Ceylon." The Zipangu of Marco Polo, however, is clearly Japan.—See MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, note 1132. Nor can any resemblance be imagined between Zabaje and Zeilan, or any of the other names of the latter island. The kings of Sumatra call themselves maharajahs to this day. Malacca is supposed by Major Wilford to be derived from Maha Lanca.—See *As. Res.*, x. 149—153.

which the gods, and warriors, and sacred animals of Southern India had to engage with foreign invaders. The chief intercourse of the Malays appears, however, to have been with Magadha.

This rapid sketch of the commercial relations of ancient India will, it is hoped, assist the reader to form a more correct, as well as more comprehensive notion of the history of the country, than can be obtained from the obscure annals of its petty dynasties. It will be seen, in the first place, that India has always been indebted for its political importance and the splendour of its empires, chiefly to the boundless wealth which nature has lavished upon its soil, and next, to its commerce. Yet, it has never been a maritime power; in this respect strikingly resembling ancient Egypt and modern China. The Phenicians, the Arabs, the Egyptian Greeks, the Malays, the Portuguese, the British, those who have successively been the lords of the seas, have been the merchants of India, and have constantly enriched themselves by the monopoly of the trade. The next remark which suggests itself is, that India, in its most comprehensive sense, could never be held as an undivided empire by any but a naval power. To whatever extent, therefore, the nominal sovereignty of its emperors may at any time have been acknowledged, we may be certain, that they could exert no permanent or effective control over the more remote principalities. Even the Mogul sovereigns were never able to extend their empire over the whole of the Deccan; and the peninsular provinces seem to have been always very distinct. The histories of Cashmeer, of Magadha, and of Delhi, must, then, be regarded as only sections of the history of ancient India.

Another striking feature in the general history of

this country is, that it has never assumed the attitude of a belligerent power; never sent forth a conqueror to invade other territories by sea or land; never, in the person of its native monarchs, long preserved a substantial independency. In almost every age, India has been a tributary; and the country has not more enriched its princes and its merchants, than it has its foreign conquerors and spoilers. The hereditary claim to this splendid dependency has passed from hand to hand, if we may credit tradition, from the heirs of Japheth to the days of the Great Mogul; and it is remarkable, how little difficulty the Great King of the age has seemingly found in obtaining the recognition of his right and title. The mass of the population have, in addition to this political subjection to a foreign power, been held, from time immemorial, in a state of the most abject social degradation, by the ascendancy of a sacerdotal nobility and the singular institution of caste. That which some learned authorities maintain to have been the primitive religion of the country, now exists only among a depressed and scattered sect; and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Buddhic world has been transferred from the kings of Magadha to the Tatar sovereign of the celestial empire.

These circumstances amply account for the strikingly peculiar and original character of the Hindoo nation, the fixed character of their institutions, and the unchanged nature of their language. They have never been blended down with other nations by either colonization or conquest.* During more than sixteen

* "Megasthenes assures us," says Arrian, "that the Indians neither waged war with other nations, nor any other nation with them; and that Sesostris, the Egyptian monarch, having subdued a great part of Asia, and carried his victorious army almost to Europe, retired and went back without attempting any thing against India."—ROOKE's *Arrian*, ii. 194.

hundred years, that is, from the fall of the Bactrian kingdom till the arrival of the Portuguese in the East, no European power acquired territory, or established its dominion in that country. "Nothing more was aimed at by any nation," remarks Dr. Robertson, "than to secure an intercourse of trade with that opulent country." The Mohammedan conquests may be regarded, however, as an exception to this remark; and of these we shall now proceed to take a review.

In that extraordinary revolution which transferred the conquests of Alexander, the kingdoms of Ptolemy and Seleucus, to the rude soldiers of Arabia, and reduced the empire of Noushirwan to a province of the khalifate, Bassora succeeded to the commerce of Alexandria, and the Indian trade fell into the hands of Mohammedan merchants. Khorasan and Balkh were subdued by Abdallah, the governor of Bassora, in the khalifate of Othman, A.D. 651. The cities of Bokhara and Samarcand were taken by Kateibah, the Arabian governor of Khorasan, about sixty years after.* When the sceptre of Persia "fell from the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Ali," Transoxiana, Bactria, Khorasan, and Cabul were united in one empire under the dynasty of the Samanecan princes, who for ninety years reigned in tranquillity at Bokhara.† On the death of the fifth sovereign of that family, Abustagein (or Aleptekein), who had risen from a state of servitude to be governor of Khorasan, seized upon the city and territory of Ghizni, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. Three successive victories over the general of Munsur, the monarch of

* Price's Mohammedan Hist., vol. i. pp. 160—4; 473—6.
† Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 129.

Bokhara, secured to Abustagein the undisputed possession of Khorasan and Zabulistan; and at his death, in the year 974, he left the throne of Ghizni to his son. The young monarch enjoyed for only two years the honours of royalty, his life being shortened by his debaucheries; and on his death, Subuctagi (or Sebektekein), the favourite general of his father, was proclaimed king by the army. His marriage to the daughter of Abustagein ratified this election; and the Mohammedan historians dwell upon the valour, moderation, and justice which gained him the hearts of all his subjects.*

Previously to his reign, the Mohammedan khalifs had made some attempts to extend their conquests to the western provinces of India; and in the reign of the khalif Walid, they obtained possession of Sinde, whence they made frequent incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Subuctagi, after having subdued the fortresses of Bost and Kosdaur, carried his arms across the Indus, and ravaged the Punjaub; but he made no permanent acquisitions in that direction. After exterminating vast multitudes of the idolaters, he returned loaded with spoil to Ghizni. At this time, we are told by Ferishta, Jeipal, the son of Hispal, of the Brahmin race, reigned over the country east of the Indus, from Cashmere to Moultan; and he had the kings of Delhi, Ajmeer, Kanouje, and Kallinjur for his allies. It may, therefore, as Major Rennell remarks, be concluded, from the circumstance of the frontier provinces being under a Hindoo government, that the Mohammedans, whatever ravages they had

* Dow's Hindostan, i. 20, 21. Price, ii. 244, 277. The latter Writer, following the *Kholausset-ul-akbaur*, takes no notice of the son of Aleptekein, but says, he was succeeded by his slave, Sebektekein.

committed, had not hitherto formed any establishment in Hindostan. In fact, after gaining a great victory over the allies, Subuctagi is represented as retiring, laden with glory and wealth, through the countries of Peishawir* and Limgan, which he annexed to his dominions, stamping their names upon his coins. One of his omrahs was appointed to the government of Peishawir, which may evidently be regarded as the eastern limit of his permanent conquests. Before he was at leisure to renew his incursions, his career was cut short by a fatal distemper, of which he expired A.D. 997, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving, "like Philip of Macedon, his projects as well as kingdom to his son." †

That son was the celebrated Sultan Mahmoud Ghiznavi, by whom the glories of his house were raised to their zenith. The first two or three years of his reign were occupied in securing to himself the throne of his father, and restoring tranquillity to his dominions; and he is said to have made a vow, that, when he had put down all his enemies, he would turn his arms against the idolaters of India. In pursuance of this sanguinary vow, in the year 1001, he marched from Ghizni, with 10,000 of his chosen cavalry, and was met at Peishawir by Jeïpal, prince of Lahore, at the head of a far superior force, supported by 300 elephants. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Mahmoud was victorious; Jeïpal, with fifteen of his principal chiefs, was taken prisoner, and 5000 of his troops

* Peishawir (*i. e.* the advanced post), situated on the S. side of the Cabul river, 40 miles W. of the Indus, from its advantageous position, has become an important *entrepôt*, uniting, in commercial intercourse, Persia and Affghanistan with India.—HAMILTON'S *Gaz.*

† Rennell, xliv. Dow, i. 22—9. Price, ii. 278.

were left dead on the field. The booty which fell into his hands, was very considerable. Among other articles, were sixteen jewelled necklaces, one of which, belonging to the Rajah himself, was estimated at 180,000 *dinaurs* (equal to 82,500*l.* sterling).* On this occasion, Mahmoud is stated to have extended his ravages as far as Bahtindah or Batneir, in the province of Delhi, which he reduced. He released his royal captive on the promise of a stipulated tribute; but Jeïpal, having now been twice a prisoner to the implacable enemies of the gods of his country, was rendered incapable, according to the customs of his nation, of retaining the sovereign authority. Having made over the government to his son, Anundpal, he ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, upon which he sacrificed himself to his gods.†

Mahmoud's further designs against this devoted country, were suspended by an expedition against the prince of Seistan, whom he defeated and made his tributary; and it was upon this occasion that he assumed the title of sultan, with which the subjugated prince had the policy to salute his conqueror. In the year 1006, he again entered India, and subdued the cities of Behautiah and Moultaun; but was recalled to defend his native dominions against a formidable invasion by the Uzbek monarch of Kashgar, and his ally, the sovereign of Khoten. The adverse hosts met and joined battle about four leagues from Balkh. Mahmoud's troops, overwhelmed by numbers, were beginning to give way, when the Sultan, by an effort of desperate valour, rekindled their enthusiasm, and

* Price, ii. 281. Dow makes Ferishta say, that "round the neck of Jeipal were found sixteen strings of jewels, *each* of which was valued at 180,000 rupees, about 320,000*l.* of our money."—Vol. i. p. 38.

† See Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 130. Price, ii. 281.

turned the tide of victory against the invaders. The rival khans with difficulty effected their escape across the Jyhoon. The severity of the season prevented him from following up his success; but, before he took up his winter-quarters in his capital, he hastened to Peishawir, to chastise and dethrone a Hindoo prince who had relapsed from a feigned conversion into the double crime of revolt and apostacy.*

In the spring of the year 1009, Mahmoud was called to encounter the united forces of all the Hindoo princes from the west of the Ganges to the river Nerbuddah, assembled on the plains of Peishawir, under Pal, the son of Anundpal, the monarch of Lahore, to punish the sacrilegious enemy of their common faith and country.† During the space of forty days, the two armies remained encamped in presence of each other, without coming to action, while the numbers of the Hindoos were continually increasing by fresh reinforcements. Mahmoud had covered both his flanks with strong intrenchments, while his front was protected by a thousand archers. In this strong position, he was at length attacked with such fury, that 5000 Moslems were speedily slain, and his destruction seemed inevitable; when, on a sudden, the elephant of the Hindoo generalissimo took fright, it is said, at the report of some fire-arms, and the idea that their

* See Mod. Trav., Persia, 1. 130, 1. Ferishta calls this renegade Zab Sais; Major Price calls him Nowausah Shah, probably his Moslem name. He fled at Mahmoud's approach, but was pursued and overtaken by a detachment of cavalry; and the Sultan, "without further trouble, took the direction of his capital."

† According to Dow, the princes of Oojein, Gwalior, Kallinjur, Kanouje, Delhi, and Ajmeer. They were joined by the Gickers (Guikkers or Kahkares), a formidable tribe of savages, who had nearly proved more than a match for the Moslems. They inhabited the northern and largest division of the hilly tract situated between the Behut, the Sinde, and Cashmeer; the southern division being occupied by the Joudis.—RENNELL, p. 110.

rajah was fleeing from the field of battle, spread a panic through the undisciplined hosts, who dispersed in every direction. For two days and two nights, the fugitive idolaters were pursued by the Moslem cavalry; and 20,000 are stated to have been put to the sword, besides those who fell in the conflict. The impregnable fortress of Bheim-nugger, containing immense treasure, surrendered to the conqueror;* and he returned to Ghizni, laden with inestimable wealth.† In a magnificent festival of three days, Mahmoud displayed to his subjects the spoils of Hindostan, laid out on tables of gold and silver; and the gorgeous spectacle closed with a liberal distribution of a portion of this wealth to the ministers of the Mohammedan faith and to the indigent.

During the year 1010, 11, Mahmoud resumed his operations against the Indian territory;‡ and on his return from this inroad, he is stated to have been followed to his capital by the suppliant envoys of the paramount sovereign of the Hindoo princes, (probably Anundpal,) who offered, as terms of peace, an annual

* The fortress of Bheimnugher, Bheemghur, Nuggerkôte, or Naugracut, is described as a strong hill-fort, erected by Rajah Bheim, one of the ancient monarchs of the country, which had been used by the Hindoos as a secure repository for their most sacred images, and by the surrounding rajahs for their treasure and jewels. Either through a rash confidence of success, or in reliance on the natural strength and sanctity of the fortress, it had been left without any other garrison than priests.

† The plunder of specie is said to have amounted to upwards of 300,000*l.* sterling, besides 700 *mauns* of gold and silver plate, 200 *mauns* of pure gold, 2000 of unwrought silver, and 20 of precious stones.—PRICE, ii. 285.

‡ It was apparently in this incursion, that he plundered and destroyed the celebrated temple of Tanasar, about 70 miles north of Delhi, carrying off the great idol Jug-soom, and that he took the city of Delhi. Ferishta (according to Dow) places this event in A.H. 402.—See MOD. TRAV., Persia, i. 132.

tribute of fifty elephants, besides specie and precious commodities. The Sultan consented to this accommodation, and a commercial intercourse is said to have been opened or renewed between the subjects of the adverse powers. The next year, he found employment for his arms in subduing the Afghans of Ghour, a mountainous territory to the north of Ghizni, whose princes afterwards overthrew the house of Mahmoud, and utterly destroyed his proud and splendid capital. He then proceeded to undertake the conquest of Cashmeer and the hilly districts adjacent, which appears to have furnished him with sufficient employment for more than one campaign.* By this means he opened a route for his army into the Gangetic countries, through Tibet, without violating the territory of the Lahore rajah; and accordingly, he now determined to march through Cashmeer against the great city of Kanouje, which, according to Ferishta, from the time of Gushtasp, the father of King Darab of Persia, had never been visited by a foreign enemy. "In the beginning of the year 409 (A.D. 1018), as soon as the sun began to wake the children of the spring, Mahmoud, with a hundred thousand chosen horse and thirty thousand foot, raised in the countries of Tur-

* In the Cashmerian annals, we find no trace of this conquest; but, at the period referred to, Cashmeer was under the government of the Queen Dowager, Didda Rana, daughter of Sinha Rajah, king of Lahore; and the country appears to have been the scene of successive revolutions and disorders, which might afford a favourable opportunity to a foreign invader. Prithivapala, who is apparently the Pitterujepal of Dow, attempted to overthrow the queen's faction, but was defeated, and saved his life by becoming tributary to the sovereign of Cashmeer. This prince could hardly be, as Ferishta represents, king of Lahore. It is very likely, however, that Tounga, by whom he was defeated, was the prince whom Mahmoud had established in Cashmeer.—See *Journ. Asiat.* tom. vii. p. 84.

kestaun, Maver-ul-nahr, Khorassan, and the adjacent provinces," undertook this distant expedition. "Kanouje was distant from Ghizni, a three months' march; and seven great rivers rushed across the route. When Mahmoud reached the confines of Cashmeer, the prince whom he had established in that country, sent him presents of every thing curious and valuable in his kingdom. When the Sultan had with much difficulty conducted his army through the mountains, he entered the plains of Hindostan, drove all opposition before him, and advanced to Kanouje. He there," continues Ferishta, "saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which, in strength and structure, might justly boast to have no equal. The Indian prince of this rich city, whose name was Korra, and who affected great pomp and splendour, being thus unexpectedly invaded, had not had time to put himself in a posture of defence, or to collect his troops together. Terrified by the great force and warlike appearance of the king, he, in his embarrassment, resolved to sue for peace, and accordingly went out with his family to the camp, where he submitted himself to the mercy of Mahmoud. Some authors relate, that he even turned true believer." *

From Kanouje,† where he remained only three days, the conqueror marched to Meerut in the Doab, the

* Dow, vol. i. p. 53.

† Dow, vol. i. p. 52. Kanouje is represented in the Mahabharat, as having succeeded to the imperial honours of Oude, the more ancient capital. In the beginning of the sixth century, it had become so populous, that it is said to have contained 30,000 shops in which betel was sold; and 60,000 musicians and singers paid a tax to the government. The route by which Mahmoud reached the Ganges, was probably the same as that by which, ages before, Krishna entered Bahar, and took by surprise the monarch of Pali-bothra.

prince of which retreated at his approach, leaving only a garrison, which was soon compelled to capitulate. The plunder of the city, added to a stipulated tribute of 50 elephants and 250,000 rupees, was the price of their safety. Mavin, a strong fort on the banks of the Jumna, was the next object of Mahmoud's attention. Calchunder, the chief of this place, when summoned to summit to the conqueror, marched out, it is supposed, with a pacific intent; but an affray took place between some of the soldiery of the two armies, which led to a general action. Most of the rajah's troops were driven into the river; and Calchunder, in despair, drew his sword upon his wife and children, and having despatched them, turned it upon himself. Seventy elephants of war formed part of the rich spoil which was found in the fort. Mahmoud staid here only long enough to refresh his troops, and then marched to the sacred city of Mathura (or Muttra) on the east bank of the Jumna, which he took with little difficulty, and gave up to pillage. The accumulated treasure which here fell into his hands, was prodigious. He is said to have found in the temples, five large idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies, each eye being estimated at 50,000 *dinaurs*. Upon another idol, he found a sapphire weighing 400 *miskal*; and the image, on being melted down, produced 98,300 *miskal* of pure gold. Besides these, there were above a hundred idols of silver, which loaded a hundred camels with bullion. Mahmoud intended to destroy the temples, but either this proved to be a labour beyond his power, or, as some authorities assert, he was diverted from this purpose by the admirable beauty of the edifices. He remained here for twenty days, during which a fire broke out, and consumed great part of the city. He then marched against the other

fortified places in the district, some of which held out a long time, and were with difficulty reduced. At length, loaded with spoil and encumbered with captives, Mahmoud slowly returned, by Lahore, to Ghizni, where the opening of the royal stores and baggage exhibited to the astonished inhabitants such a display of wealth and treasure as had never before been seen. It consisted of 20 millions of *dirhems* in bullion (nearly 459,000*l.*) with jewels, pearls, and other precious effects of inestimable value; also 350 elephants and 53,000 captives.* Nor was the private spoil of the army less than that which came into the royal treasury. Great part of this wealth was employed in the embellishment of the capital. Mosques, baths, palaces, bazars, aqueducts were constructed in every quarter; and one superlatively beautiful mosque, built of marble and granite, on which the Sultan lavished all his magnificence, received or acquired the lofty and impious title of the Celestial Bride. Near this mosque, Mahmoud founded a university, endowed with sufficient funds for the maintenance of both professors and students, and furnished with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. He transmitted an account of his conquests, in verse, to the Khalif of Bagdad, with a variety of costly presents; in return for which, the Commander of the Faithful, having made a great festival on the occasion, conferred upon the Sultan titles of the highest honour, and ordered the poetic gazette of his victories to be publicly read to the delighted populace. In the year 1021, this duteous champion of Islam despatched a con-

* Such was the multitude of captives, we are told, that, though the value of a slave was set at no more than 10 *dirhems* (about 4*s.* 7*d.*), they could find no purchaser even at that price.—PRICE, vol. ii. p. 288.

siderable force to open the road to Mekka, which had long been obstructed by Arab banditti, who were accustomed to plunder the caravans and to murder the pilgrims. Under protection of this escort, a numerous *cafila* performed the pilgrimage from Ghizni to Mekka, and returned in safety.

For three years, Mahmoud appears to have found sufficient gratification and employment in the display of his grandeur and the embellishment of his capital; but he was roused from this repose by intelligence, that his vassal, the Rajah of Kanouje, had been attacked and slain by a confederacy of the neighbouring chiefs, at the head of whom was Nunda, the Rajah of Kalinjur. Again he advanced to the Jumna, and crossing that river, entered the mountainous region of the Bandelkhand; but the wary rajah retired before him, and Mahmoud was obliged to content himself with laying waste the country by fire and sword, and carrying off some hundreds of elephants. The next year, he entered Cashmeer, in order to reduce the strong hold of Locote; but, finding it impregnable, he wreaked his revenge on the city of Lahore, which he sacked, and appointed one of his omrahs to the government. The year following, he marched through Lahore into Allahabad, and successively invested the cities of Gwalior and Kalinjur; but those mountain-fortresses might safely defy any force that an Asiatic general could employ against them;* and Mahmoud was, without

* Kalinjur is a strong hill-fort in the Bandelkhand district of Allahabad. Here, in 1582, Abulfazel states, was a famous idol named Kalbihroop, 18 cubits high. Mr. Maurice has confounded this place with the *Callingæ* of Pliny.—See note at p. 140. Mahmoud is stated to have employed a year in the unsuccessful attempt to reduce Gwalior and Kalinjur, which, from their natural strength, have, in modern times, resisted the science and discipline of a European army.—See Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. I. p. 134.

much difficulty, induced to withdraw his troops, and to consent to a treaty of pacification, on receiving some valuable presents and a number of elephants. On his return to Ghizni, he is stated to have mustered all his forces; and he found them, exclusive of his garrisons, to consist of 55,000 chosen horse, 1,300 elephants, and 100,000 infantry.

In the 416th year of the Hejira (A.D. 1025), Mahmoud once more engaged in a war of extermination against the Hindoo idolaters. This expedition (his twelfth) had for its object to destroy the famous temple of Somnauth,* in the Kattiwar district of Gujerat. The priests of this establishment had boasted, that the sins of the people of Delhi and Kanouje had led to their being abandoned to the vengeance of the Mussulmans, whereas their god would have blasted the whole army of Mahmoud in the twinkling of an eye. On the 10th day of Shabân, A.H. 415 (Oct. 16, 1024), according to Ferishta, Mahmoud set off from Ghizni, attended by 30,000 cavalry; and he arrived at Moultan in the middle of the month Ramzân (Nov. 20). From Mooltaun, he appears to have skirted the desert to Ajmeer, which he sacked, and thence to have proceeded by Neherwâla, the *Puttun* or ancient

* Somnauth means the lord Soma, to whom the Hindoo mythologists assigned the province of adjudging to departed souls, according to the doctrine of transmigration, the bodies appropriated for their future habitation. Mr. Maurice supposes Soma, the moon, to be the deity intended; but the description seems to identify the idol with Yama or Yamu, the Indian Pluto, one of whose names is *Sumvurtee*. "I have heard of some Hindoos," says Mr. Ward, "who, rejecting the worship of other gods, worship only Yumu." The idol at Somnauth is stated to have also borne the appellation of *Laut*. Ferishta adds, that, in the time of an eclipse, there used to be forty or fifty thousand worshippers at this temple. This renders it probable that the worship had some affinity to the Sabian idolatry.

capital of Gujerat, to the object of his zeal or avarice. For two days, the Hindoo garrison sustained and repelled the furious attack of their assailants, who suffered a severe loss; and on the third day, a Hindoo army arrived to succour the besieged. A battle ensued, and the victory seemed doubtful, when two Indian princes, Byramdeo and Dabiselima, joined their countrymen with reinforcements which seemed to make the defeat of the Moslems inevitable. Mahmoud perceived that the exertions of his troops became faint, and that a desperate effort could alone save them from destruction. Springing from his horse, he prostrated himself on the ground, and invoked the aid of the True God against the infatuated worshippers of the idol. Then, taking one of his bravest generals by the hand, he invited him to join in a charge which should secure to them either victory or the palm of martyrdom. The example of their monarch rekindled the enthusiasm of his soldiers; and before their desperate valour, 5000 of the infidels were soon laid prostrate. The Hindoos gave way in every direction; and the garrison of Somnauth, who beheld with dismay the unexpected issue of the contest, abandoned the place they had so courageously defended, and took to their boats. The conqueror instantly seized upon his prize. On advancing to the temple, he discovered a spacious hall, its lofty roof supported by fifty-six pillars, covered with plates of gold, and inlaid with precious stones. One pendent lamp, reflected from the innumerable jewels, spread a strong and refulgent light over the temple, round which were arranged some thousands of small images in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions. In the centre stood the gigantic idol, composed of one immense block of marble, partly sunk beneath the flooring of the tem-

ple.* Indignant at the sight, the zealous Moslem, with one blow of his mace, struck off his god-ship's nose; and he gave orders that it should be broken to pieces. In vain the priests offered *crores* of gold to redeem their god from further indignities; Mahmoud spurned at the idea of selling an idol, and his iconoclastic zeal was amply rewarded by the discovery of an immense quantity of precious stones concealed in the inside of the image, which sufficiently explained the interested offers of the Brahmins. Among the other spoils was a chain of gold weighing 40 *maunds*, which hung from the top of the building, and supported a great bell to summon the worshippers. Besides 2000 Brahmins who officiated as priests, there belonged to the establishment, 500 dancing-girls, 300 musicians, and 300 barbers. The treasure withdrawn from this celebrated sanctuary is computed altogether at 20,000,000 *dinaurs* of gold, equal to at least nine millions sterling.† Of the infatuated votaries of the idol, above 50,000 are supposed to have perished under the swords of the Moslem soldiery.

From Somnauth, Mahmoud proceeded to the strong fort of Gundia, distant forty parasangs, on the coast, which he took by storm; and then returned to Neherwala (or Narwalla), the capital of Gujerat. Here, according to Ferishta, he was so much delighted with the salubrity of the air, the fertility of the soil, and

* According to Mr. Maurice, the idol was 50 cubits in height, 47 of which were buried in the ground. Mr. Dow says, five yards, two of which were sunk beneath the floor; and Major Price agrees with him in this rendering of the statement of Ferishta. Three *gus*, or cubits of 22 inches, would give the idol the stature of an ordinary man.

† "At the lowest computation, of 9*s.* 2*d.* to the *dinaur*, this would amount to the sum of 9,166,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*"—PRICE, vol. ii. p. 200.

the pleasantness of the situation, that he proposed to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghizni upon his son Mussaood. He is stated to have been the more strongly inclined to transfer the seat of empire to this city, as he meditated fitting out a fleet to attempt the conquest of Ceylon and the distant country of Pegu. But his chieftains were averse to the abandonment of their native kingdom; and Mahmoud, yielding to their counsels, left the country in the hands of a Brahmin of royal lineage as his viceroy. In his return, having learned that the Rajah of Ajmeer, with the fugitive prince of Neherwala, had collected a great army to intercept him in the desert, he took the route of the Indus and Moultan; but his army had nearly fallen victims to the treachery of a pretended guide, who proved to be a priest of Somnauth, and by whom they were led astray for three days and three nights in a sandy desert which afforded neither pasture nor water. At length, with much toil and difficulty, Mahmoud led back his troops to Ghizni, after an absence of two years and a half.

His last Indian expedition was undertaken in the year 1027, and was directed against the Jauts of Moultan, who had annoyed the army in their return from Somnauth. The country of this tribe is stated to have bordered upon the river* which runs by the mountains of Jehud, or Joud; and in order to subdue them, it was necessary to have the command of the streams by which their territory was defended. On arriving at Moultan, Mahmoud ordered 1400 war-boats to be immediately equipped, each of which was furnished with *rostra*, or beaks of iron, on the prow and on each beam, and manned with twenty archers,

* The Jelum or Behoot.

who were provided also with fire-works of naphtha. The Jauts, having intelligence of this formidable armament, sent their wives and children, with their most valuable effects, to a place of security among the islands of the Indus, and prepared with 4000 boats (some authorities double the number), strongly armed, to receive the attack. A terrible conflict and carnage ensued. The boats of the Jauts, on coming in contact with the iron beaks of the Ghiznian, the shock of which they were unprepared to resist, were pierced and sunk, or run down; others were set on fire, and the flames soon spread through the fleet; numbers fell beneath the arrows of the enemy, and those who escaped by swimming, were ultimately put to the sword, or, with their families, led into captivity by their ruthless conquerors.

After this naval victory, Mahmoud returned in triumph to Ghizni. In the same year, he defeated an army of Seljookian Turkomans, who had invaded his Persian territories. Then marching to Rhey, he took possession of that part of Irak Ajem which had belonged to the Dilamee princes, and bestowed the government of Rhey and Isfahan upon his son Mussaood. Soon after his return to his capital, he was seized with an attack of the complaint which proved fatal. In this state of health, he paid a visit to Balkh, to arrange some state affairs; and in the spring of 1030, once more turned his face to Ghizni, where he expired on the 29th of April, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign.*

Mahmoud may certainly claim to rank very high among Mohammedan heroes; and it is not surprising

* Price, ii. 280—294. Dow, i. 33—74. Maurice's Hindostan, iii. 239—296. Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 128—137.

that his splendid atrocities should be the subject of pompous eulogy with Moslem historians. He possessed a greater empire than any Mohammedan prince before his time in Asia; extending from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean, westward to the kingdoms of Georgia and Bagdad, and eastward to the Ganges. His court was splendid beyond example, and scholars and poets from all parts of Asia there met with munificent encouragement. His treatment of Ferdousi, however, is cited as a stain upon his generosity. When the Persian Homer presented his *Shah Namah*, composed by the Sultan's command, he obtained no other reward than a cold applause of his diligence; and when he complained of this neglect in epigrams, he at length received as many small pieces of money as there were couplets in his volume, namely 60,000.* This paltry remuneration, the poet resented as an insult. Leaving behind him an animated invective, he fled from Ghizni, and took refuge under the protection of the khalif at Bagdad. Yet, Mahmoud shewed himself on other occasions a liberal patron;† and several instances are recorded of the power of elegant poetry to attract and mollify him. He was himself a poet, and early in life, translated into verse a treatise on government composed by some Indian Brahmin. Did he envy the genius of the Persian poet? Or was Ferdousi too little of the courtier? It matters not. Mahmoud was certainly, as Ferishta styles him, "a great man," if not "an excellent prince;" and we may, perhaps,

* The poem is said to have been the labour of thirty years; and the author estimated his labours at 60,000 *dinaurs*, or pieces of gold; instead of which he received 60,000 *dirhems*, being about 5½*d.* the couplet, and amounting to about 1375*l.*

† A fixed sum of 400,000 *dirhems* (about 9166*l.*) was annually applied to the patronage of learning and learned men.

admit, with some qualification, the justice of the remark, that "he did many bad things from a good principle." Among his "great and princely virtues," says Mr. Maurice, "predominated a dauntless fortitude, profound political wisdom, and, on some occasions, inflexible justice; but they were all darkened by his execrable bigotry and his insatiable avarice." * It is not his bigotry, however, but his cruelty, that is to be execrated. His abhorrence of idolatry approached to a virtue, and his enthusiasm might sometimes seem to border on devotion; but it was the devotion of a moslem, grafted on the savage and phlegmatic character of the Tatar; devotion without religion, and zeal without piety or benevolence.

Long before his death, Mahmoud had declared his favourite son Mahommed heir to the throne of Ghizni, the territories of Irak and Tabriztaun being assigned to his elder brother. But Mussaood, who is styled by Ferishta a second Roostum, was not of a temper to submit to an arrangement which deprived him of the honours of primogeniture; and the unfortunate Mahommed, betrayed by his own courtiers, lost his throne and his eyes. The first part of the reign of Mussaood was prosperous; and the unfortunate Hindoos were doomed to suffer from fresh incursions of the Ghiznian troops.† In the mean time, the

* Maurice, ii. 299.

† In the year 1033-4, he entered India by the route of Cashmeer, and took the fort of Sursutti, where were found a number of Mussulman captives. This year was remarkable for a great drought and famine throughout the East, followed by a calamitous pestilence, which is said to have depopulated whole districts in Hindostan. In a subsequent expedition, Mussaood reduced the strong city of Hassi, in the Sewaulik district of the province of Delhi, and the fort of Sunput. He then proceeded to Lahore, where he left his son Mugdood as governor.—Dow, i. 85—89. In

Seljooks, having passed the Jyhoon, had taken possession of the territories of Nissa and Abiwerd, and were gaining strength in Khorasan. Contrary to the representations of his ministers, who urged the expediency of checking at the outset the usurpations of these formidable adventurers, Mussaood had been too intent upon extending his Indian conquests, to take timely measures for the security of his native dominions. He was now roused by intelligence from Khorasan, that "his enemies, who were once but ants, were become little snakes, and if not soon destroyed, might soon grow into serpents." But "the star of the king's fortune," says Ferishta, "had now reached the house of adversity." While Mussaood was marching to the relief of Balkh, which was threatened by one party of the enemy, another body penetrated to Ghizni, and committed depredations on the capital, though eventually repulsed. In the war which ensued, Mussaood displayed great personal valour, and the Seljooks suffered repeated defeats; but at length, at Dindaka, those warlike Tatars gained a complete victory, to which the cowardly or perfidious desertion of several Ghiznian generals is said to have contributed, and the Sultan was compelled to return with disgrace to his capital. There, he discharged his vengeance on some of those chiefs and ministers to whose misconduct he ascribed the disastrous issue of the war. Then, despatching his son Mudud with a fresh armament to Balkh, he hastened to withdraw, with all his treasure, from Ghizni, and to take up his winter-quarters in Hindostan. In

a letter which Mussaood wrote from Hindostan to his *omrahs* at Ghizni, he boasted of having sacrificed 50,000 infidels, taken captive 10,000, and acquired a booty of a million of *dinaurs*.—Maurice, iii. 513.

crossing the Jelum, however, he incautiously suffered himself to be separated from his baggage and equipage; and a body of the imperial slaves availed themselves of the opportunity to plunder the treasure. The troops, on perceiving this, resolved to share in the spoil. A general tumult ensued; and to secure themselves against the vengeance of the Sultan, the leaders raised the blind Mahommed a second time to a precarious throne. Mussaood, ungratefully deserted at once by all his subjects, was conducted a prisoner to the fortress of Kurri, where he was shortly after put to death by his nephew Ahmed, A.D. 1041, in the tenth year of his reign.

As soon as intelligence of his father's death was conveyed to Modood, he broke up his camp before Balkh, and directed his march to Ghizni, whither Mahommed also, with his three sons, hastened from the banks of the Indus. The armies of the uncle and the nephew met in the desert of Deynûr; and in the battle which ensued, victory declared for Modood. The blind king, with two of his sons, and all who had been concerned in the murder of Mussaood, were immediately put to death, Abdurrahim being excepted in consideration of the humanity he had shewn to his unfortunate uncle. On the field of victory, Modood founded the city of Fatte-abad (city of victory). He now entered Ghizni in triumph, and the death of Mugdood shortly after, left him undisputed master of the Indian provinces. But the long-oppressed inhabitants of that devoted country appear, during the reign of this sultan, to have made a successful effort to shake off the yoke. The prince of Delhi, in alliance with some of the neighbouring rajahs, raised a powerful army, and recovered Hassi, Tanassar, and their

dependencies from the Ghiznian governors. The fort of Nagracoot, after a siege of four months, was also obliged to capitulate; and the idol was formally reinstated in his temple with great pomp and festivity. Encouraged by the success of the Delhi rajah, the Indian chiefs of the Punjaub took the field, and invaded Lahore. For seven months, according to Ferishta, the Mohammedans maintained themselves in this city, defending it street by street; but at length, the besieged, issuing forth in a desperate sally, defeated the Hindoos in their camp, and put them to flight with great slaughter.*

On the side of Khorasan, the Ghiznian empire was continually contracting its limits before the progress of the Seljookian power. An army sent against these invaders by Modood, in the year 1043, was driven back with disgrace and loss by the superior valour and good fortune of Alp Arslan. Balkh was repeatedly lost and retaken, but eventually remained in possession of the enemy; and Candahar appears to have been occupied by a horde of Turkomans. Modood at length took the field in person at the head of an immense army, intending to march by way of Caubul into Seistan, which had been entered by these bold invaders; but he had proceeded no further than the fort of Sânkoot, when he was attacked by a fit of the cholic, which compelled him to return to Ghizni, where he expired in December 1049, after a reign of eight years.

The obscure annals of the Ghiznian dynasty now exhibit only a disgusting series of petty contests, revo-

* All the conquered places, except Nagracoot, were eventually retaken by the troops of Modood, and the rebellious rajahs were reduced to submission.—D'Herbelot in Maurice, iii. 393.

lutions, and massacres. The infant son of Modood was deposed, a few days after his nominal accession, in favour of his uncle Ally; who abandoned the throne, only two years after, to Abdul Rashid, the son of Sultan Mahmood. His power was of brief duration. Toghrel Haujeb, the Turkish general of Sultan Modood, who had been entrusted by that monarch with the government of Seistan, throwing off his allegiance to the family of his master, marched to Ghizni, of which he soon gained possession, and the sultan, with nine of the blood royal, fell into his hands. They were immediately put to death, and the usurper, having forcibly espoused the sister of Modood, assumed the royal authority. At the end of forty days, he was assassinated by some of the principal *ameers* of Ghizni, who raised to the throne Furrukzaud, a son of Sultan Mussaood. During his reign, which lasted six years, the Seljookian Turkomans were twice defeated with great slaughter, by his general, Noushtekein. In a third battle, the better fortune of the renowned Alp Aralan prevailed; and an amicable exchange of prisoners was followed by a truce of hostilities. Sultan Ibrahim, who succeeded his brother in the year 1058, concluded a peace with the Turkish sovereign of Persia, whose power now extended from the Arabian desert to the banks of the Oxus; and a still closer alliance was formed with the house of Seljook by his son and successor, Mussaood III., who married the daughter of Malek Shah.

To return to the affairs of India. In the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, two successful expeditions were conducted into the Gangetic countries. The second, which the zealous monarch commanded in person, was undertaken in the year 1079; and so illustrious were

his conquests, that they procured him the surnames of *Al Modhaffer* and *Al Mansoor*, the conqueror and the triumphant. Yet, the only details given, relate to the taking of the forts of Ajodin and Rupal, and of a city not far from the latter place, situated in a valley encircled with almost impassable mountains, the inhabitants of which were a distinct and independent tribe, whose original seat was Khorasan. The Ghiznian army suffered greatly in the march, being overtaken by the rains; and for three months they remained idle before the town. After a siege of some weeks, it was at length taken by assault, and according to the usual exaggeration of the Moslem historians, a hundred thousand prisoners were led captive to Ghizni. Ibrahim is panegyrized as a very charitable, just, and religious prince, a patron of learning, and an accomplished scribe.* He was the father of thirty-six sons and forty daughters, and after having reigned in tranquillity and happiness forty years, he died in the year 1088, and left an undisputed throne to his son, Mussaood III. To this sultan is attributed a character not less estimable for justice and benevolence towards his subjects; and his alliance to the sister of the reigning Shah of Persia, secured him a peaceful reign of sixteen years. His lieutenant, Haujeb Togha-tekein (Tigha Tiggi), led a body of troops from Lahore across the Ganges, and carried his inroads further than any former Moslem general, Sultan Mahmood excepted; renewing the scenes of pillage and desolation extended through the country by that remorseless conqueror, but without making, so far as appears, any permanent conquests. After plundering

* Two copies of the Koran, written with the Sultan's own hand, were sent as presents to the Khalif.

many cities and temples of their wealth, the Ghiznian general returned in triumph to Lahore, which now came to be considered as the second capital of the empire.

On the death of Shah Mussaood, in the year 1114, Arslan Shah (Arsilla) mounted the throne of his father, having imbrued his hands in the blood of the rightful heir, Sheirzaud, and imprisoned all his other brothers whom he could lay hands on. One of these, however, Behram Shah, escaped to the court of his uncle, Sultan Sanjur, who then held the government of Khorasan. By his powerful aid, the fugitive prince was thrice seated upon the throne of his father, Arslan being as often defeated and expelled; and the third time, he was taken and put to death. During his turbulent and interrupted reign, Ghizni was partly consumed by lightning. Behram is said to have been a just and generous prince, the liberal patron of learning. Under his auspices, the *Kaleila Doomna* (the Fables of Beidpâi) was first translated into Persian.* In the days of his prosperity, this Sultan twice visited India; the first time to reduce to obedience Mahommed Bahlim, who held the viceroyalty of Lahore on behalf of Arslan Shah, and who resisted the authority of Behram, but was defeated, and, after a short imprisonment, again entrusted with the lieutenancy. On the monarch's return to Ghizni, Bahlim proceeded to erect the fortress of Nagoor, in the moun-

* A translation from the original Sanscrit into Pehlivi, had been executed by the enlightened minister of Nooshirwan; and from the Pehlivi, it had been rendered into Arabic in the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid. The latter is supposed to have been the version used in the Persian translation executed by order of Behram Shah. And this again was rendered into more familiar and modern Persian in the reign of Sultan Hossein Mirza.—PRICE, vol. ii. p. 307.

tainous district of Sewâlik, where, as in an impregnable asylum, he secured his family and most valuable effects. Then, raising a numerous force of Arabs, Persians, Khiljian Turks, and Afghans, he began to aggrandize himself by depredations in the territories of the neighbouring rajahs; and becoming elated with his successes, he aspired at length to independent sovereignty. This revolt occasioned the second expedition of Behram Shah. The armies met near Moultan, and after an obstinate contest, Bahlim, with his ten sons, was put to flight. In their precipitate retreat, they plunged into a deep quagmire, and were all, together with their horses, entirely swallowed up.

On his return to Ghizni, Behram Shah caused to be publicly executed, Mahommed, prince of Ghour, son-in-law of the rebel Bahlim. This arbitrary action led to the ruin of the family of Ghizni. The brother of the murdered prince, Seyf-ul-deen Souri, immediately marched at the head of a considerable force to Ghizni, which Behram evacuated at his approach, taking refuge in the fort of Kirma, in the mountains. Seyf-ul-deen entered Ghizni without resistance, and relying on the tractable temper of the citizens, ventured to send back his brother Allah-ul-deen and the greater part of his army. No sooner, however, had winter set in, and the communication through the mountains of Ghour become suspended by the snow, than Behram Shah, with whom some of the citizens had opened a secret correspondence, suddenly appeared before Ghizni at the head of a considerable force. Seyf-ul-deen, betrayed by his treacherous counsellors, ventured forth to meet him, when he was surrounded by the conspirators and delivered up to his mortal enemy. The treatment which the unhappy captive

met with, appears to have been as undeserved as it was inhuman. Mounted upon a sorry bullock, his face blackened, and turned towards the animal's tail, he was paraded through the streets of Ghizni amid the insults of the mob, and was then put to death with every circumstance of indignity and torture, his head being sent to Sultan Sanjur.

Dreadful was the retribution which this deed of wanton cruelty drew down upon the Ghiznians. Allah-ul-deen, burning with rage and indignation at the horrible treatment inflicted upon his brother, advanced with all the forces he could raise, towards the city. Behram Shah went forth to meet him with a far more numerous army, supported by elephants; he was, nevertheless, defeated, and saved himself only by a precipitate flight. He did not, however, survive his overthrow, but died, it is supposed of grief and vexation, either at Ghizni or on his way to Lahore, immediately after the battle, A.D. 1152, having reigned over Ghizni and Lahore five-and-thirty years. He was succeeded by his son, Khosrou, who immediately withdrew, with all his court, beyond the Indus, abandoning the kingdom of Ghizni to his enemies.

The Ghourian prince now entered without opposition the forsaken and devoted city, which was given up to the accumulated horrors of rapine, slaughter, and conflagration. For seven days, the work of vengeance was carried on, during which every structure of this once noble city that had belonged to the hated race of Sebektegein, was burned or razed to the ground. When the barbarous conqueror at length withdrew towards his native country, he carried captive a number of the *seyuds* or chief citizens to Ferouzkoh, each having a bag of clay suspended to his neck, which, with an oriental refinement of cruelty, was afterwards

mixed with the blood of the bearer, and used as mortar, to construct the towers of a castle at that place.

Ghizni, thus ruined, was subsequently taken possession of by the Turkoman tribe of Ghuz, who, about this time, overran the whole of Khorasan, and took prisoner Sultan Sanjur.* They held it for two (some authorities say ten) years, when it was wrested from them by the Ghourians. During this interval, the son of Behram Shah terminated at Lahore, an inglorious but undisturbed reign of seven years over the Indian provinces of the now contracted empire. The throne of Lahore was, on his death, ascended by his son Khosrou II., the last of his race. In his reign, the Ghourian general, having previously reduced Peishawer, Afghanistan, Moultan, and Sind, appeared under the walls of Lahore. The strength of that city baffled his attempt to take it by attack; and he was twice induced to raise the siege, accepting a tribute and hostages from Khosrou as the price of this respite. In his third expedition, A.D. 1186, the invader, proceeding by a circuitous route, took the city by surprise; and the honours of the house of Sebektegein were finally transferred, without a blow, to the princes of Ghour, after that dynasty had subsisted two hundred and eleven years. The unfortunate Khosrou was, with all his family, shortly after put to death.

Mahommed Ghouri, the conqueror of Lahore, acted in these transactions as the general and lieutenant of his elder brother, Yeas-ul-deen, who held the nominal sovereignty of the Ghourian dominions. He did not long remain at Lahore, but, confiding the government of that city to the viceroy of Moultan, returned to

* See Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 147. Mr. Maurice calls this tribe Gazan Turks; Major Price, the Ghozians; Dow, the Turks of Ghiza.

Ghizni, which appears to have regained the honours of a capital. Thence, in the year 1191, he proceeded to invade Ajmeer; but, on the banks of the Sursutty (Saraswati), he encountered a powerful Hindoo army, headed by the confederate rajahs of Ajmeer and Delhi, from whom he sustained a complete overthrow. The enemy pursued the routed Moslems forty miles, and Mahommed escaped, with the wreck of his army, to Ghour. In a few months, however, he was in a condition to invade India a second time, at the head of a hundred thousand cavalry, Turks, Persians, and Afghans. He was met by the confederates with an army three times as numerous; but his superior manœuvring obtained him this time a complete victory. The king of Delhi was, with many other princes, slain in the field, and the rajah of Ajmeer was taken and put to death. The forts of Sursutty, Samana, Koram, and Hassi, surrendered to the conqueror; and Ajmeer was taken by storm, all the inhabitants being barbarously massacred or led into captivity. Delhi saved itself for the time by a prompt submission and large tribute.

Mahommed returned to Ghizni, laden with immense spoil, leaving his favourite mamlouk general, Kuttub, in the town of Koram, with a considerable detachment, as his viceroy.* By this fortunate slave, the city of Delhi was taken shortly after (A.D. 1193), and made the seat of his viceroyalty. In the following year, he crossed the Jumna, took by assault the fort of Kole, and thence advanced to join his forces to those of

* No such place as Koram is mentioned in the Gazetteer, and its situation is doubtful, as is that of some of the other forts mentioned by Ferishta. In Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery, Mahommed, who is styled Sultan Moozeddeen, is said to have left his vicaroy, Mullick Kotebeddeen, at Gehram.

Mahommed, who was marching upon Kanouje." The Maha-rajah of Kanouje and Benares, who opposed them, was totally defeated; and the fort of Hassi, in which he had laid up his treasure, fell into the hands of the invaders. Mahommed then entered the city of Benares, where he demolished the idols of a thousand temples, and loaded four thousand camels with his spoil. Having confirmed Kuttub in the viceroyalty of India, he returned to Ghizni.

In the Ayeen Akbery, a different and highly romantic account is given of the circumstances which led to the Ghiznian conquests, and the foundation of the Mohammedan kingdom of Delhi. The reigning monarch at the time of the invasion, is stated to have been Rajah Pithowra, of the race of Chowhan. In the Hindoo histories, it is asserted, that this Rajah had gained over the Ghourian Sultan, Mooz-ud-deen-Sam, seven pitched battles; but, in the eighth, fought near Tannassar, in A.H. 588 (A.D. 1191), with Sultan Shahab-ud-deen, he lost his kingdom and his liberty, and eventually his life. His overthrow is attributed to the following circumstances. The Maha-rajah or emperor of India at that time, was Jychund (Jya Chandra) Rathore, whose capital was Kanouje. "All the other rajahs paid him homage, and he was of so tolerant a disposition, that many natives of Persia and Tatary were engaged in his service." He at length resolved to perform the *raj-soo-yug*, the great sacrifice which should seal his supremacy; * and all the rajahs of the surrounding country repaired to his court, to assist at the ceremonial, except Rajah Pithowra, who considered himself as having a superior claim to the honours

* See p. 114. The war between Yudhishthir, sovereign of Delhi, and Jara Sandha, king of Magadha, seems to have had a similar origin.

of the supremacy. "Jychund was preparing to lead an army against him; but the courtiers represented, that such an undertaking would require a long time for execution, while the hour appointed for the sacrifice was near at hand. Their remonstrances prevailed with Jychund; and in order to make the festival as little incomplete as possible by the absence of Pithowra, they made an effigy of him in gold, and gave it the office of porter at the gate.* Pithowra, enraged at this affront, went to the sacrifice in disguise, accompanied by five hundred men of great valour; and, after having committed great slaughter, seized the golden effigy, and returned with speed. The daughter of Jychund, who was to have been married to another rajah, upon hearing the relation of Pithowra's intrepid valour, became enamoured of him, and refused her consent to the marriage. Jychund, enraged at her conduct, expelled her from his haram, and confined her in a separate palace. When Pithowra received intelligence of this, he was almost distracted with love and rage, and determined to set her at liberty. For this purpose he engaged Chanda, a musician, to go to the court of Jychund, to sing his celebrations; and Pithowra, with a few chosen men, accompanied him as his attendants. By this stratagem, Pithowra contrived to carry on a correspondence with the princess, who was easily induced to make her escape with him." Pithowra succeeded in carrying her off in safety to Delhi, though not, it seems, without a combat which deprived him of some of his bravest warriors. To revenge himself for this insult, Jychund is stated to have invited the assistance of their com-

* In this ceremony, every part of the service, down to the most menial, must be performed by rajahs.

mon enemy, the monarch of Ghuzneen (Ghizni,) Shahab-ud-deen, who accordingly entered with a powerful army the dominions of Pithowra, while that monarch was giving himself up to love and indolence, his attention wholly engrossed with his beautiful bride. He was roused at length by the approach of the enemy; but his bravest heroes had been slain in the previous affray, and Jychund, who had been his ally, was now in league with the foe. In the battle which ensued in the plains of Tanassar, victory deserted him, and, according to the Hindoo accounts, he was taken prisoner, while the Persian historians assert that he was slain. The same year that the Sultan returned by way of the northern mountains to Ghizni, his viceroy, Kotebeddeen (Cuttub-ul-deen), possessed himself of Delhi and many of its dependencies. Very shortly afterwards, in conjunction with the Sultan, he overthrew Jychund (or Jya Chandra) himself, and thus made himself master of the richest provinces in Hindostan.*

The disturbed state of Khorasan left the Ghiznian monarch little leisure, after this, to renew his inroads into India. He was engaged in an expedition against Toos, when the death of his brother, Yeas-(or Ghias-)ul-deen, recalled him to assume the honours of royalty. These, he did not long enjoy. Being shortly after involved in hostilities with the monarchs of Khaurizm and Samarcand, he was defeated, and, as the natural consequence, deserted by his soldiers, his own slave shutting against him the gates of Ghizni. He retrieved his affairs, however, with the aid of Kuttub, and returned from India to Ghizni, where he concluded a peace with

* Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. pp. 106—109. In Brewster's Ency., art. India, a somewhat different account of these transactions is given, but the authority is not mentioned.

the Tatar sovereign of Khaurizm. He was on his return from a successful inroad against the refractory mountaineers of Kohjood, when, at a place called Deybek (Debeik or Rimeik), on the banks of the Nilab, he was assassinated by some Gickers, March 13, 1206; and his death may be said to have put an end to the empire of Ghizni.* His nephew, Mahmoud, indeed, succeeded to some portion of his ancestral dominions; and subsequently to his assassination in 1210, two other princes of this race made a feeble effort to sustain the grandeur of their house; but both the Ghourian and the Khaurizmian sultanries, together with the various petty dynasties of Persia, fell before the all-conquering armies of Chenghiz Khan.

Kuttub-ul-deen (the Cothbeddin Ibek of D'Herbelot) continued, during the life of his master, to acknowledge himself his viceroy or tributary. In the meantime, he extended his dominions in Gujerat and Ajmeer. On the assassination of Mahommed, he assumed the ensigns of royalty as monarch of Lahore

* The preceding account of the career of Mahommed Ghoury, is given on the authority of Maurice and Dow, who have followed Ferishta. In Major Price's narrative, however, taken from the *Kholausset-ul-Akbar*, both names and events appear with considerable variation. There seem to have been, in fact, several Mahommeds of the Ghoorian dynasty. The first succeeded his father Allah-ud-deen, and was slain, at the expiration of little more than a year, in a conflict with the Turkomans. To him succeeded his cousin, Sultan Abûl-Futtah Gheyauth-ud-deen Mahommed, the Yeas-ul-Dein of Dow, whose Mahommed Ghoory is there styled Sultan Shahaub-ud-dein. This was the conqueror of Delhi. "He was preparing for an expedition of three years into Turkestaun, when some hostile indications among the natives of Kohjûd, between the Indus and the Behaut, drew his attention to that quarter; and he was on his return from a successful inroad against those refractory mountaineers, when he was assassinated at a place called Deybek, by one of the *Fedayan*, or zealots of Almowut (Allahamout)."—PRICE, ii. 455.

and Ghizni. The latter kingdom, however, he eventually abandoned to Ildecuz (or Eldoze),* another favourite slave of the Sultan's, who had made himself master of the city.

On the death of Kuttub, occasioned by a fall from his horse in the year 1210, his son, Aram Shah, mounted the throne of Delhi and Lahore; but in the same year, he was compelled to resign the sovereignty to Altumsh, the adopted son of Kuttub, and who had married his daughter. In the hands of this more able chief, the empire, which had fallen to pieces on the death of Kuttub, was again united; the governors, who had availed themselves of that event to seize on different portions of the conquered territory, being successively defeated. Among these was Eldoze, who, on being driven out of Ghizni by the Sultan of Khaurism, had endeavoured to indemnify himself by seizing on the city and territory of Tanassar, whence he advanced towards Delhi; but he was defeated and taken prisoner, and died in the fortress of Budayoon. Having established his authority, Altumsh found himself at liberty to prosecute his schemes of conquest. The principalities of Bahar and Bengal, which appear to have been already in the hands of Mohammedan governors, were reduced to subjection, the currency being struck in the name of the monarch of Delhi. The provinces on the Indus were next brought into subjection; and this was followed by the conquest of the Sewaulik country. In the year 1233, Altumsh entered Malwah, and took the city of Oojein, where he destroyed the magnificent temple of Maha Kali, carrying off the idol, as well as the image of King Vicramaditya its founder, which he ordered to be carried to Delhi, and broken at

* The Tagedin-Ildiz or Taje-ud-deen of D'Herbelot and Orme.

the door of the great mosque.* After this, he engaged in an expedition to Moultan, which was in a disturbed state; but, falling sick on his march, he returned to Delhi, and expired there, A.D. 1235, after a signally prosperous reign of twenty-five years.

It was in the thirteenth year of the reign of this able monarch (according to Ferishta), that Chenghiz Khan overthrew the Khaurizmian empire; and pursuing his career of conquest, during the succeeding twelve years, that savage destroyer of the human race changed the face of Asia, extending his sway from the sea of China to Syria, and from the Arctic circle to the Indus.† Intent upon the subjugation of China, he suffered India to escape an invasion which, in all probability, would have forced it to share the same fate with the rest of Asia.

Altumsh was succeeded by his son Ferose Shah, an effeminate and dissipated prince, who, having made himself alike odious and contemptible to his subjects, was, at the end of less than seven months, deposed and imprisoned; and his masculine sister, Mallekeh Doran, Sultana Rizia, was then raised to the throne. This able woman had been, on one occasion, appointed regent by Altumsh himself, during his temporary

* See p. 138. Ferishta tells us, that this temple was formed upon the same plan as that at Somnauth; that it had been building for three hundred years, and was surrounded with a wall one hundred cubits high.

† Chenghiz Khan died in 1226. Altumsh was, therefore, during part of his reign, contemporary with Hulaloo Khan, who died at Maragha, in 1264. At the time of this irruption of the Moguls, Louis VIII. of France was employed in exterminating the Albigenses; (he died the same year as Chenghiz Khan;) Henry III. had begun his reign in England; Frederick II. was Emperor of Germany; and the son of Saladin was master of Egypt.

absence from the seat of government;* and on her accession, she justified the choice of the omrahs by assuming the imperial robes, and giving public audience every day from the throne, revising and enforcing the laws of her father. Her reign was prosperous, and she appears to have conducted the administration of government with singular ability, till, unfortunately, the nobles took disgust at the promotion of an Abassinian slave to the head of the army. The first demonstrations of discontent were suppressed, but a general revolt took place shortly after; and Behram Shah, her brother, was set up by the Turkish omrahs in her stead. The Sultana, after maintaining for some time the struggle for the throne, was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death, after a reign of three years and a half.

Behram Shah, though nominally emperor, found himself a mere puppet in the hands of the chief of the omrahs and the vizier, by whom, at the end of two years, he was dethroned and murdered. During his brief reign, the Moguls advanced from Ghizni to Lahore, and plundered that city; and in the troubled reigns of his successors, they repeatedly made predatory incursions into the Punjaub with various success. Turmeshirin Khan is reported by Sheref-ed-deen, to have carried his arms into the Doab, and to have penetrated even to the confines of Delhi.

On the fall and death of Behram Shah, Massaood,

* "When asked by the omrahs, why he appointed his daughter to such an office, in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine, women, gaming, and the worship of the wind (flattery); and that Rizia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons."—Dow, i. 161.

a son of Feroze Shah, was raised from a prison to a precarious throne; but his despicable character soon led to his being stripped of the robes of royalty, and his uncle, Mahmood, was, in 1244, made king in his stead, under the title of Nassir-ul-deen. He appears to have been a man of great energy, enterprise, and prudence, as well as of considerable literary attainments. During the time of his imprisonment, he supported himself by writing, despising the emperor's allowance; and often said, that he who could not work for his bread, did not deserve to eat. After he had ascended the throne, he continued the same frugal and laborious habits, supplying his private wants by the use of his pen. His table was that of a hermit, rather than of a king; and contrary, Ferishta remarks, to the custom of all princes, he had but one wife, and kept no concubines. He was the "patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor." He was moreover successful in all his wars, and astonished his subjects by the moderation and clemency with which he pursued his conquests. He behaved with the most severity to the Gickers of Mount Jood. Their country being reduced, the emperor avenged himself upon those turbulent mountaineers for their continual incursions, and for guiding the Moguls through their country into Hindostan, by carrying into captivity some thousands of both sexes. Towards his own subjects, he behaved with rare magnanimity for an oriental sovereign; repeatedly pardoning, upon submission, those who had swerved from their allegiance. Towards the close of his reign, he was honoured with an embassy from Hulakoo Khan, the grandson of Chenghiz Khan, and sovereign of Persia. Baleen, his vizier, went out to meet the ambassador, attended, we are told, "by 50,000 foreign horse in the imperial

service, 2000 chain-elephants of war, and 3000 carriages of fire-works. He drew up in order of battle, formed in columns of twenty deep, with the artillery and cavalry properly disposed. Having then exhibited some feats of horsemanship in mock battles, and fully displayed his pomp to the ambassador, he conducted him to the city and royal palace. There the court was very splendid, every thing being set out in the most gorgeous and magnificent manner. All the omrahs, officers of state, judges, priests, and great men of the city were present, besides five princes of Persian Irak, Khorasan, and Maver-ul-nahr, with their retinues, who had taken protection at Delhi from the arms of Chenghiz Khan. Many Indian princes also, subject to the empire, stood next to the throne."* This was the last occurrence of importance in this reign. Shortly after, the emperor fell sick, and after lingering for some months, expired in the year 1266, much regretted by his subjects.

Mahmoud left no sons, and his able visier Baleen, who was related to the emperor Altumah, ascended the throne, with the unanimous concurrence of the nobles.† Ferishta states, that, in the reign of Altumah, forty of his Turkish slaves who were high in favour, entered into a solemn mutual engagement to support one another, and, upon their master's death, to divide the empire among themselves. Baleen was one of this number, and, as several of his confederates had

* Dow, i. 178.

† Like Altumah himself, he was by origin a Turk of Chitta, who had been sold into slavery. Altumah made him his Grand Falconer; in the reign of Mussaood, he was made "lord of requests," and in that of Mahmood, he was raised to the visareet, which high office he exercised towards the last in such a manner as to leave the sovereign the mere title of royalty.

raised themselves to great power, his first step after his accession was, to rid himself of all who survived of these dangerous rivals, either by sword or by poison, including his own brave nephew Sheer. This act of dreadful policy, he followed up by a vigorous reform of the government, expelling from his court all gamblers, parasites, usurers, and licentious persons; and he became so famous for his wise and just government and for his generosity, that his alliance was courted by the sovereigns of Persia and Tatary, and his capital was the refuge of the fugitive princes who had been despoiled of their territories by the Moguls. Upwards of twenty of these unfortunate ex-sovereigns, we are told, repaired to the court of Delhi, from Turkestaun, Maverul-nahr, Khorasan, Irak Ajem, Azerbijan, Fars, Room (Asia Minor), and Syria. They had a princely allowance and palaces assigned them; and upon public occasions, took their stations, according to their dignity, to the right and left of the throne; all standing, except two princes of the house of Abbas, who were permitted to sit on either side of the *musnud*. In the retinue of these princes were many of the persons most renowned in the East for learning and genius; so that the court of Delhi came to be reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, assembled every night at the house of Prince Sheheid, the heir apparent; while at that of Prince Kera, the Emperor's second son, who was given to pleasure and levity, were convened a number of musicians, dancers, buffoons, and story-tellers. The Emperor himself, having a great passion for magnificence, set his omrahs the example of great pomp and display in his palaces and equipages. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble

Tatars in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver and saddles richly embroidered. Five hundred attendants in rich livery with drawn swords, ran before to proclaim the monarch's approach, and to clear the way. That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt for forty or fifty miles round the city, and he established laws for the preservation of the game. The festivals of Norooz and Ide, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were held with wonderful pomp and splendour. He was, nevertheless, a great enemy to debauchery and licentiousness, and prohibited the drinking of wine under the severest penalties.

Unlike most of his predecessors, this monarch was less solicitous to extend his dominions, than to strengthen his empire. When advised by his council to undertake an expedition to reduce the kingdoms of Gujerat and Malwah, which had been annexed to the empire by Kuttub-ul-deen, but had subsequently shaken off the yoke, Baleen would by no means consent; giving as his reason, that the Moguls were become so powerful in the north, that he thought it much wiser to secure his possessions against those invaders, than to weaken himself, and to leave his country unguarded, by engaging in foreign wars. The military transactions of this reign, therefore, were confined to measures of police and defence, and the suppression of rebellion. On some occasions, the inhabitants of the disturbed districts were punished by extermination. A certain tribe of banditti called *Mewats*, who had possessed themselves of an extensive wilderness, about eighty miles S. E. of the capital, towards the hills, had, during the preceding reigns, carried their predatory incursions to the very gates of

Delhi. In an expedition sent against these marauders by Baleen, above 100,000 are stated to have been put to the sword; and the woods being cleared away for a circuit of a hundred miles, a line of forts was erected along the foot of the mountains, to protect the settlers on the cleared lands. An insurrection in Budayoon and Kuttore, suppressed by the monarch in person, was punished with an indiscriminate massacre of several thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants. The army were engaged for two years in reducing to obedience the wild inhabitants of the Jood mountains. About the year 1282, a more formidable rebellion broke out. Toghrul, who had been entrusted with the government of Bengal, was emboldened, by a report of the emperor's death, to assume the red umbrella and the other insignia of independent royalty; and when he found that Baleen was still living, he refused to obey his mandate and return to his allegiance. Two imperial armies sent against him, were successively defeated; and Baleen found himself at length compelled to take the field in person. Crossing the Ganges, without waiting for the dry season, he proceeded to Bengal by forced marches, while Toghrul, having tidings of his approach, retired with all his treasure into Orissa, where he had been pushing his conquests.* He was fallen in with, however, by an

* He is stated to have led an army against some Indian princes in the neighbourhood of Jagenagur, a town near Cuttak, and, having defeated them, to have carried off some hundreds of elephants and much wealth, out of which he made no acknowledgement to the emperor. Jagepoor or Jehazpoor is probably the town referred to. This principality was first invaded by the Mohammedans in 1243, when Toghan Khan, governor of Bengal, was not only defeated by the native rajah, but was pursued to Gour, his metropolis. The Mohammedans were defeated a second time by the Rajah of Jagepoor in 1253.—HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*.

advanced detachment of the imperial forces, who were scouring the country in search of the fugitives; and was surprised in his tent by one of Baleen's officers, who, at the head of only forty men, succeeded in penetrating, undiscovered, to the centre of the enemy's encampment. The greatest confusion and a general panic ensued; and Toghrul was shot with an arrow in crossing a river. His whole family and principal adherents were put to death, and Baleen was withheld from impaling all the prisoners taken in this expedition, on his return to Delhi, only by the united intercessions of the mufties, kadies, and learned men, who approached the throne in a body. Baleen was absent on this expedition three years. He left his son, Kera, viceroy of Bengal, bestowing upon him all the ensigns of royalty; and on the death of his eldest son, the accomplished Mahommed, he sent for him to Delhi, appointing him his successor. Kera, however, appears to have preferred the peaceful possession of his kingdom to the reversion of a precarious empire; and he declined to remain at his father's court, much to the displeasure and grief of the now aged monarch, who expired not long after, in the year 1288, after a reign of twenty-two years.

The grandson of Baleen, Moaz-ul-deen Kai-Kobad, was now raised to the throne; a weak and dissolute prince, who suffered himself to be entirely ruled by an artful vizier. His father, the King of Bengal, made an effort to reclaim him by his advice, and by cautioning him against the arts of his minister; but he too late resolved to attempt to retrace his steps. Being seized with a paralytic stroke, he was dethroned, and afterwards murdered, having reigned little more than three years. His infant son, after being made a pageant king for a short time, shared his father's fate;

and the throne was usurped by Feroze, an Afghaun of the Chilligi or Khulji tribe, under the title of Jellal-ul-deen.

This monarch was seventy years of age when he mounted the *musnud*. From his love of plainness, he changed the royal umbrella from red to white. Having no great confidence in the loyalty of the citizens of Delhi, he fixed his residence at Kilogurry, which he strengthened with works and adorned with gardens; and the omrahs, following the emperor's example, built palaces around, so that Kilogurry became known as the new city. The wisdom, justice, and lenity of Feroze, gradually procured him the estimation of all his subjects, except the omrahs of his tribe, to whom his conduct, in pardoning some rebel chiefs, gave great umbrage. "I am now an old man," said the emperor, on being urged to take vengeance on the traitors, "and wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood." As the consequence, however, of his humane, but feeble policy, insurrections were multiplied, gangs of robbers infested all the roads, and every species of crime became common; public security was at an end, and the provincial governors withheld their revenues from the imperial treasury. Although a usurper, he was worthy, however, of a better fate. In the eighth year of his reign, Allah, his nephew and son-in-law, on his return from a predatory inroad into the Deccan, basely conspired against his aged benefactor and sovereign, and having murdered him, mounted the throne, A.D. 1295.

The reign of this able but execrable monarch, which lasted twenty years, forms a brilliant period in the annals of the Delhi monarchy, as he was the first who extended the Mohammedan conquests into the kingdoms of the Deccan. In his first expedition, (the one

above referred to, undertaken about the year 1292, with the consent of the aged emperor,) he took by surprise the city of Deoghur* (in Aurungabad), the capital of Ram-deo Rajah, and led back his troops laden with incalculable wealth, through hostile territories, to Delhi, where he consummated his daring exploit by the murder of the emperor and the usurpation of the throne. The account given of this extraordinary inroad wears the character of romance. Allah, we are told by a native writer, left Gurrah, the seat of his government, with 8000 chosen horse, on pretence of a hunting excursion; and taking a route through the territories of several petty rajahs, he evaded all hostilities by giving out, that he had left the emperor's court in disgust, and was proceeding to offer his services to the Rajah of Telingana, at that time the most powerful monarch in the Deccan. After two months' march, he arrived, without meeting with any serious opposition, at Elichpoor; whence, changing all at once his course, he decamped by night, and in two days surprised Ram-deo in his capital, which, after a short contest, he entered, the rajah retiring into the citadel. Allah immediately invested the place, giving out that his forces formed only the vanguard of the emperor's army, who were in full march to the place. This struck universal terror into the rajahs of the surrounding country, who thought only of securing their own possessions, and Allah was left at liberty to prosecute the work of pillage. Having at length come to advantageous terms with the rajah, who remained shut up in the citadel, he was preparing to evacuate the city with his treasure, when the son of Ram-deo advanced to the relief of the place,

* Afterwards named Dowletabad; the ancient Tagara.

at the head of a numerous army. The young prince disdained to observe the treaty imposed upon his father, and demanded of the invader the restitution of all the plunder as the price of his safety. A battle ensued, and the troops of Allah began to give way before superior numbers, when, by one of those critical occurrences which have so often decided the issue of conflicts and the fate of empires in the East, the tide of fortune was turned. Allah had left a detachment of 1000 horse to maintain the investment of the citadel; but, learning by his scouts, the situation of affairs, the commander galloped to the field of battle; and the dust they raised concealing the smallness of the reinforcement, the alarm was given, that the Tatar army had arrived. A panic flight took place; and Allah returned to the city as a conqueror, where a scene of carnage ensued, as the punishment of the alleged breach of treaty. Allah at length consented to evacuate the country, on receiving 600 *maunds* of pure gold, seven *maunds* of pearl, two of diamonds and other precious stones, one thousand *maunds* of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and other precious commodities, surpassing in value all belief. In his retreat, he opened his way through Berar, Gundwana, Khandeish, and Malwah, though watched by hostile armies, and occasionally exposed to their desultory and irresolute attacks. History presents but few exploits that can be compared with this, as to either the boldness of the enterprise or the good fortune with which it was crowned.*

Soon after Allah's usurpation of the throne, intelligence was brought him, that the sovereign of Transoxiana had sent an army of a hundred thousand Mo-

* Dow, i. pp. 216—20.

guls to take possession of the Punjaub and Moultan, and that they were carrying all before them with fire and sword. He immediately despatched his brother, Elich, with a great force to expel them. The two armies met in the district of Lahore, and the Moguls were defeated with the loss of upwards of 12,000 men. In the following year, they again entered India in still greater numbers, and driving all before them, advanced to the plains of Delhi. Allah now took the field in person, at the head of 300,000 horse, 2700 elephants, and infantry without number. "From the time that first the spears of Islam were exalted in Hindostan, two such mighty armies," says Ferishta, "had not joined in fight." The victory on the part of the imperial army was most complete; for which Allah was chiefly indebted to the general who commanded his right, and who, pursuing the enemy too far in advance of the main body, was surrounded and slain. He is said to have continued the slaughter thirty miles.

In the year 1300, Allah's generals reduced the kingdom of Gujerat, laying waste the country, and taking Neherwala, the capital. The rajah, abandoning it at their approach, took refuge in the dominions of the monarch of Deoghur; but his wives and family, his elephants and treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy. The vizier, with part of the army, then marched to Cambaat (Cambay), which, being "full of merchants, yielded a prodigious treasure to these sons of cruelty and rapine."

About two years after this, Allah besieged, and at length took, the fortified city of Rantampore, in Ajmeer,* putting to the sword Ameer Deo, the rajah,

* This fort, Ferishta says, is esteemed the strongest in Hindostan. The siege occupied a year.

his family, and the garrison. In 1303, after a siege of six months, he took the strong fort of Chitore, the government of which he conferred upon his son, Khyzer, with regal dignities, as the capital of his territory.* About the same time, he sent an army by the way of Bengal, to reduce the fort of Arinkil (or Warangol, in Hyderabad), in the possession (if not the capital) of the Rajah of Telingana or Andhray; but this expedition was unsuccessful, and the invaders were eventually obliged to retreat in distress. While the army were thus engaged, the Moguls again advanced to Delhi, and remained encamped for two months in face of the very inferior force which was left to guard the capital; when suddenly, from some unknown cause, (ascribed by some authors to supernatural intervention,) they made a precipitate retreat to their own country. The following year, they renewed their inroad, but were defeated in the Punjaub, with the loss of 7000 men; and their chiefs, being sent in chains to Delhi, were thrown under the feet of an elephant. To avenge their death, in 1305, the monarch of *Maver-ul-nahr* sent a powerful army, which, after ravaging Moultan, penetrated to Sewaulik; but they were at length met with by Allah's viceroy, and defeated with great slaughter, those who escaped the sword perishing in the desert, or being led captive to Delhi, to undergo a more painful death. These repeated losses did not, however, discourage the Moguls, who, shortly after, again invaded Hindostan in great force, and were again defeated by Tughlik, viceroy of Punjaub; and some thousands of prisoners were sent to Delhi, to be trodden to death by elephants. After this, Hindostan enjoyed a respite from their

* This was the first time Chitore had been taken possession of by the Moslems. It is one of the strongest Rajpoot strongholds.

incursions for many years; and Tughlik retaliated by annual inroads into the provinces of Caubul, Ghizni, and Candahar, laying them under heavy contributions.

In the beginning of 1306, Ram-deo, Rajah of Deoghur, having neglected to remit the tribute agreed upon, Allah despatched a powerful army under his favourite general, Kafoor, to enforce his observance of the treaty. Ram-deo, being in no condition to oppose this great army, prudently left his son, Sinjol-deo in the fort, while he advanced with rich presents to propitiate the invader and to obtain a peace. An amicable treaty being concluded, the Indian monarch accompanied Cafoor to Delhi, to pay his allegiance to the emperor, by whom he was received with the highest marks of favour and distinction. Besides being confirmed in his own dominions, he was invested with the government of other districts, for which he did homage, and had conferred upon him the title of *Raj-rajan*, prince of princes. A lak of rupees, moreover, was given to him, "to bear his expenses home;" an act of humiliating generosity.

In the year 1309, Cafoor was again despatched into the Deccan for the purpose of subjugating the kingdom of Telingana. He took the route of Deoghur, where Ram-deo entertained the general with great hospitality.* On his approaching the frontier, Lidder-deo, Prince of Arinkil, shut himself up in his fortress, not having had time to make adequate preparations to oppose him in the field; and the other rajahs, his allies, also took possession of the strongholds round the country. After a siege of some

* In his way to the Deoghur country, he is said to have reduced Baglana, in the Mahratta territory; but it was a conquest the Mohammedans were unable to retain, and it has always remained in possession of Mahratta chiefs.

months, Arinkil was taken by assault, except the citadel; and the rajah was glad to purchase peace with the sacrifice of 300 elephants, 7000 horses, and money and jewels to a large amount, agreeing at the same time to pay an annual tribute. In the following year, Cafoor returned to prosecute his conquests, having orders to subdue Dhoor, Summund, and Maber.* After three months' march from Delhi, he arrived in the territories which they were commanded to reduce, and began to lay waste the country. Here, the Moslems were encountered by Bellal-deo, sovereign of the Carnatic, whom they defeated and took prisoner. In the temples of his kingdom, they found a prodigious spoil in idols of gold, adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects. In the capital, the conqueror built a small mosque, in which he ordered divine worship to be performed according to the Mohammedan faith, and the *khutba* to be pronounced in the emperor's name.† Wearied at length with the work of plunder and desolation, Cafoor turned the points of his spears towards Delhi, where he presented to his master, 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 *maunds* of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things, of value inestimable. It is said that, during this expedition, the soldiers threw away the silver as too cumbersome, such was the abundance of gold. According to the reports of these adventurers, it is added, no person wore, in those countries, bracelets, chains, or rings of any other metal; all the plate in

* The situation of these countries is doubtful. Dhoor is, perhaps, Doorydroog in Mysore. By Maber, Major Rennell understands the southern part of the Peninsula. It seems to comprehend the Coromandel coast.—See p. 4, *note*.

† This mosque, Ferishta says, remained entire in his day, the infidels having respected it as a house consecrated to the Deity; but he does not tell us where it stood.

the houses of the great, as well as in the temples, was of beaten gold; nor was silver money at all current.* Allah, upon seeing this treasure, was so delighted, that he "opened the doors of his bounty to all," and distributed largely of his wealth to the omrahs of his court, his servants, and the learned men, according to their rank and quality.

Soon after this accession of wealth, the monarch, elevated by his good fortune, gave himself over to pride, and made himself odious by his tyranny. Some of the Mogul converts in his army having incurred his displeasure, he ordered them all to be discharged, and they remained in great numbers about the capital in a state of wretched poverty. Driven at length to desperation, some of them entered into a conspiracy to murder the king; which being discovered, Allah ordered the whole body, without distinction or exception, to be put to the sword; so that fifteen thousand of these unhappy men lay slaughtered in one day in the streets of Delhi, and all their wives and children were enslaved.†

* "This treasure," remarks Mr. Dow, "may exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans; but, if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people, and not disturbed, perhaps, by wars for thousands of years, our wonder will cease, and the credit of our author remain entire. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money."

† In the reign of Ferose II. (A.D. 1292), "Allaghu, grandson to the great Zingis, joined Ferose with 3000 men. They all became Mussulmans, and their chief was honoured with one of Ferose's daughters in marriage.....To these Moguls was allotted a certain district near the city, where they raised a considerable town, known by the name of Mogulpoora."—Dow, vol. ii. p. 214. "The reader will not forget," remarks Major Rennell, "the similar conduct of the Roman Emperor Valens, with respect to the Goths, who were permitted to cross the Danube, and settle in Thrace; and the similarity is more striking, in that the Hindoostan empire was afterwards conquered by the assistance of the descendants of those

Up to this time, notwithstanding the atrocities which marked the beginning of his career, Allah had conducted himself with sagacity and moderation. There seem, indeed, to have been three distinct stages of character in the history of this extraordinary man; and it is almost difficult to reconcile the opposite qualities and actions which are attributed to him, as belonging to the same individual. Prior to his elevation, he appears only as a reckless adventurer, a bold, unprincipled, and fortunate marauder, a base and ungrateful traitor. To reconcile the people of Delhi to his usurpation, he is said to have given splendid festivals, and to have encouraged every species of riot and debauchery. He then proceeded to extirpate the descendants of his predecessor. His character at this period seemed compounded of cruelty, unnatural licentiousness, and the most insane ambition. Although so illiterate that he did not possess the common knowledge of reading and writing, one of his projects over his cups was, to form a new system of religion, that, like Mohammed, he might be held in veneration by posterity. Another was, to commit India to the government of a viceroy, and, like the Great Secunder (Alexander), to undertake the conquest of the world. Full of this idea, he assumed the title of Secunder Sani (Alexander the Second), which was struck upon the currency of the empire. These wild projects, he is represented as laying for ever aside, in consequence of the sage and faithful advice of the chief magistrate of Delhi, who resolved to risk

Moguls."—MEMOIR II. It would seem that their increasing numbers at length excited the jealous apprehension of Allah; but the massacre appears to have been confined to the Mogul soldiery. The extermination of the Mamlouks at Cairo by Mohammed Ali, affords the nearest parallel to this atrocious stroke of policy.

his life in the attempt to reclaim the monarch to a sense of his duty. Contrary to the old counsellor's expectation, the emperor took his advice in good part, and munificently rewarded him for his fidelity.

Not long after this, while on a hunting expedition, Allah was reposing with a few attendants, when Akit, his brother-in-law, formed the sudden resolution to cut him off, as the emperor had cut off his predecessor, and to step into the throne. He had no difficulty in obtaining the assistance of a few adherents; and Allah, being suddenly saluted with a shower of arrows, was left for dead. Akit was about to cut off his head, when one of the attendants assured him, that it was quite unnecessary, as his master had breathed his last. The army was thrown into great confusion by the intelligence; but Akit assumed without opposition the ensigns of royalty, and his name was proclaimed accordingly in the *khutba*. In the mean time, Allah recovered his senses, and having his wounds bound up, with difficulty mounted his horse. Following the wise counsel of one of his officers, he spread the white umbrella, which Akit had neglected to secure, and appeared on an eminence in sight of the whole army. Immediately, the court of the usurper was abandoned. Distracted with fear, Akit took to flight; but a party of horse soon brought back his head to the emperor.

When Allah had recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Rantampore, and commenced the siege of that place. Availing themselves of his absence, the governors of Budayoon and Oude, both nephews to the emperor, revolted; but they were successively defeated, and sent prisoners to the royal camp, where they were put to death by torture. A third conspiracy was formed in the capital, and a re-

lation of the Emperor Altumsh was set upon the throne. This was also suppressed, and all who had taken part in the revolt, or whose wealth made it convenient to involve them in the guilt of abetting it, were put to death.

These repeated conspiracies and insurrections, however, seem to have had a salutary effect upon the conduct of Allah, who, in a council of his omrahs, demanded their advice as to the best means of preventing a recurrence of these disorders. After listening to their representations, he resolved upon the adoption of a new line of policy; and we now seem to be introduced to a new character. "He first applied himself," says the Translator of Ferishta, "to a strict inquiry into the administration of justice; to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men of rank in the empire. He laid himself out to procure intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces. He executed justice with such rigour and severity, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure upon the public highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the Sea of Bengal to the mountains of Caubul, and from Telingana to Cashmeer. He published an edict against the use of wine and strong liquors upon pain of death. He himself set the example to his subjects, and emptied his cellars into the street. In this, he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine....Other monarchs left all but state affairs to the common course of justice: Allah descended to all the inferior departments of government. It was

with him a common saying, that religion had no connexion with civil government, but was only the business or solace of private life, and that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men. He was so sensible of the disadvantages which he laboured under by his ignorance of letters, that he applied himself privately to study; and notwithstanding the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of the Persian manner of writing, he soon read all addresses, and made himself acquainted with the best authors in the language. After he had proceeded so far as to be able to hold part in learned discourses, he encouraged literary subjects, and shewed particular favour to all the eminent men of the age.

"The empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice travelled to the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise as if by power of enchantment; neither did there, in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five skilled in the sciences, were professors in the universities." Such, in fact, was Allah's "fortunate perseverance in all that he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed his success to supernatural power."*

Some of his fiscal regulations and sumptuary laws were as remote from enlightened policy as from justice. Under the rigid system of police which he established in the capital, the common intercourse of society was subjected to rude and irksome restraints. Wealth was treated as a crime; fines and confiscations were levied alike upon Mussulmans and Hindoos, at the imperial

* Dow, vol. i. pp. 243, 245, 251, 259.

pleasure; the prices of commodities were fixed by arbitrary regulations; and law resolved itself into the emperor's will. Yet, making due allowance for the difficult circumstances in which Allah was placed, the darkness of the times, the Mohammedan notions of government, and the necessities of despotism, these tyrannical and impolitic measures do not materially detract from the character of Allah-ul-deen as an able ruler, and as one who, in some points of view, approached to mental greatness.

In the latter part of his reign, however, he is represented as fatuitously adopting every measure that tended to subvert the great fabric that he had raised. He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Cafoor, whom he blindly supported in his most impolitic and tyrannical actions. This gave great disgust to the omrahs, and excited the jealousy of Prince Khyzer, the heir apparent. Allah's health also began to fail, owing to the effects of intemperance; and he became a prey to those gloomy and unnatural suspicions which haunt the last days of despots. Cafoor, in 1312, had proceeded for the fourth time to the Deccan, to receive the tribute of the sovereign of Telingana, and to punish the new rajah of Deoghur, who had shewn a disposition to assert his independence. Cafoor put him to death, and overran all the neighbouring territories; but he was recalled to counteract the intrigues which Allah suspected to be carrying on against him. At his instigation, Prince Khyzer, his brother, and their mother, were imprisoned, and Alip Khan, governor of Gujerat, was put to death. The consequence seems to have been, that that province revolted; the governor of Chitore in Ajmeer, at the same time, assumed independence; and Hirpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ram-deo, stirred up the Deccan

to arms, and took a number of the imperial garrisons. Rage and grief at these misfortunes, hastened the progress of disease in the enfeebled constitution of Allah, and in the year 1316, he expired, "not without suspicion of being poisoned by the villain whom he had raised from the dust to power."*

On the death of Allah-ul-deen, Omar, his youngest son, then in his seventh year, was placed upon the throne, (with the title of Shahab-ul-deen,) Cafoor declaring himself regent. His first step was to deprive of their sight, the legitimate heir and his brother; and he gave orders for the assassination of Prince Mubarik, another son of the late emperor. The commission was frustrated by a timely bribe to the assassins, and Cafoor became himself the victim of conspiracy, thirty-five days after the death of his master. The name and reign of Mubarik (Kuttub-ul-deen Mubarik Shah), who now mounted the throne, are too infamous, Ferishta says, to deserve a record.† His character was stained by every vice that can debase human nature, and he met, at length, his deserts, being assassinated by the detestable minion who had gained an

* Of Ferishta's veracity and fairness as an historian, there is reason to think very highly; but his account of this monarch seems combined of opposite representations, such as might be expected from his panegyrists and his enemies, neither, perhaps, being strictly just. "It is to be regretted," remarks Major Rennell, "that Col. Dow did not give a literal translation of Ferishta as a text, and add his own matter, or explanations, in the form of notes. We should then have been able to distinguish the one from the other." (Memoir. lii. *note*.) Maurice has, in this part of his work, servilely transcribed from Dow; and Major Price fails us; so that we have no better authority to guide us than the translation of Ferishta.

† To gain popularity at his accession, Mubarik ordered all the prisons to be opened, "by which means *seventeen thousand* were blessed with the light of day; and all the exiles were, by proclamation, recalled."

unbounded ascendancy over him, after a reign of less than five years. The traitor (whose original name, Hassan, had been exchanged for that of Khassah or Khusrou Khan) then mounted the throne, under the title of Nassir-ud-deen, and extirpated all the surviving family of Allah. Upon this, Ghazi-ul-Mullik, governor of Lahore, revolted, and having put to death the usurper, was raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of the omrahs, with the title of Ghias-ud-deen Toghlik Shah. He is characterised as a great and virtuous prince; but his reign was cut short, in the fifth year, by the falling in of the roof of a temporary palace prepared for him by his son, who is supposed to have taken this means of making way for his own elevation, without incurring the odium of parricide.

Sultan Mahommed III. reigned twenty-seven years; during which time, says Dow, "he seems to have laboured, with no contemptible abilities, to make himself detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men." The Patan empire (as that of Delhi under these Mohammedan dynasties is called *) declined greatly under his impolitic government. The southern and eastern provinces, after undergoing repeated transitions from subjugation to temporary independence, were once more lost, and the territories of the Delhi sovereign were reduced to the same limits that bounded them previously to the conquests of Allah-ud-deen.† The early part of his reign promised better

* Patan is the name given in India to the Afghauns. It is, probably, a corruption of the national name, Pooshtoon, pronounced by the Berdooraunees Pooktaun. The name of Afghaun is known to the natives, only through the medium of the Persian language. ELPHINSTONE, i. 242.

† In the first year of Mubarik's reign, Gujerat was again reduced by his general Moultani; and the Deccan was subsequently re-

things. His generals not only put down revolt in the conquered provinces, but carried the Mohammedan arms still further south, extending the Emperor's dominion across the Deccan, from sea to sea. But during the convulsions that soon shook the empire, all those countries threw off the yoke. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these: the heavy imposts, which were tripled, during this reign, in some provinces; the imposing of copper money for silver, by public decree;* the raising of 370,000 horse for the conquest of Khorasan and Maver-ul-nahr; the sending an army of 100,000 horse to subdue the mountainous country between India and China, almost the whole of which fell a sacrifice to the sword, disease, and famine; and the cruel massacre of numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Hindoos, on different occasions, in various parts of the empire.

The most remarkable circumstance in this miserable reign, was the temporary abandonment of Delhi.

conquered. Hirpal-deo, being taken prisoner, was flayed alive, and his head was fixed above the gate of his capital. The emperor ordered his garrisons to be re-established as far as the sea, and built a mosque in Deoghur, which remained in the time of Ferishta. In the disordered state of the government which preceded the elevation of Toghlik Shah, the rajahs of Deoghur and Warangol again revolted, but were reduced to obedience by an army sent against them by that emperor, under his son Jonah, afterwards Mahommed III.

* "The King, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper, upon the Emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, for ready money. Mahommed, instead of paper, struck a copper coin, which, being issued at an imaginary value, he made current by a decree throughout Hindostan." Public credit was at an end, and the Emperor found himself compelled, by the general murmurs and confusion, to call it in. A similar attempt to impose a paper currency cost Key Khatou, sovereign of Persia, his throne and his life.—See MOD. TRAV. *Persia*, i. 157.

Mahommed had taken the field in 1338, to chastise the insurgents in the Deccan; and on arriving at Deoghur, he was so much pleased with the situation and strength of the place, that he determined to make it his capital. The majority of his nobles, we are told, recommended Oojein as the preferable place. The Emperor, however, bent on his project, gave orders that the population of Delhi should immediately transfer themselves, with all their effects and cattle, to Deoghur, which now received the name of Dowlatabad, the fortunate city. Those who had not money to defray the charges of migration from their old habitations, a distance of 750 miles, were to be maintained, during the journey, at the public expense. This arbitrary measure greatly affected the prosperity of the empire; but the Emperor's mandate was strictly complied with, and the ancient capital was left desolate. Two years after, a rebellion in Moultan called the Emperor to march into the neighbourhood of Delhi; when, at sight of their native plains, all the troops who had been forced to emigrate to Dowlatabad, began to desert the army, and to disperse in the woods. To prevent the consequences of this desertion, Mahommed took up his residence at Delhi for two years. He then removed a second time, carrying off all the city in his train, to the Deccan, leaving his noble metropolis a habitation for owls and the wild beasts of the desert. The colony of Dowlatabad, without houses, without employment, were soon reduced to the utmost distress; and the Emperor was finally compelled to abandon his absurd scheme, giving permission to all who chose, to follow him to Delhi. Many thousands returned; some perished for want of food in the way, and those who reached the city, were doomed to experience a dreadful visitation of famine,

occasioned by unusual drought; which, at length, compelled the starving population, with the court, to abandon Delhi a third time for the fertile banks of the Ganges.

In the mean time, a report had been spread in the southern provinces, that the Mohammedans, who were now very numerous in that part of the empire, had formed a design to extirpate all the Hindoos. A general rising of the native population, under the confederate rajahs of Telingana and the Carnatic, was the consequence of this impression; and, in a few months, Dowlatabad was the only possession in the Deccan, that remained to the sovereign of Delhi.* Other disasters ensued, and the chagrined monarch began too late to repent of his tyranny, when, in the year 1351, he was carried off by a fever, in his way to Tatta on the Indus. Ferose III., nephew to the Emperor Ghias-ud-deen (Toghlik), was then raised by the omrahs to the throne.

The long reign of this pacific yet public-spirited monarch restored to some degree of prosperity the exhausted and distracted country. Although no great warrior, he had many qualities that fitted him to rule his people in peace; and he left numerous memorials of his wise munificence. He is said to have built forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, five hospitals, a hundred palaces, ten baths, a hundred tombs, and a hundred bridges; also, to have constructed fifty great sluices or canals, one hundred and

* It was at this period, according to Ferishta, that Bellal-deo, prince of the Carnatic, with a view to the expulsion of the Mohammedans, fixed his capital in a pass among the mountains, on the frontier of his dominions; giving the city the name of Bijen-nagur, in honour of his son. A different account of the origin of Bijen-nagur, and of the meaning of the name, is given by other writers.

fifty wells, and pleasure-gardens without number. He built the city of Feroozabad, adjacent to Delhi. In 1349, he made a canal one hundred miles in length, to connect the Sutlej with the Jidjer; and in 1351, he cut a canal from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams, one of which he brought to Hassi (or Hansi) and thence to Hissar-Ferozabad. About 1357, he employed 50,000 labourers in cutting through a hill, for the purpose of bringing a stream by an artificial channel, to water the arid districts of Sirhind and Munsurpoor;* and he afterwards drew another canal from the Caggar to the Kerah.† These public works were of the greatest advantage to the country, as affording both the means of fertilizing barren tracts, and, in many cases, commodious water-carriage.

Bengal and Bahar became, in a great measure, independent of the empire during this reign, paying only a small annual tribute. Ferose exacted no other

* While the workmen were digging for this purpose to a great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and in another, "those of a gigantic human form."

† The text of Ferishta (or that of his Translator) is very obscure in this part, and it is difficult to make out, from the account given, the course of these canals. Major Rennell has treated the subject with his usual ingenuity, Memoir, pp. 70—75. Besides the main canals, others were cut, which united them in different directions; and the banks both of the main canals and their branches were covered with towns. "Ferose, by sanction of a decree of the cazees assembled for the purpose, levied a tenth of the produce of the lands fertilized by the canals, which he applied, together with the revenue yielded by the lands newly brought into cultivation, to charitable uses. The lands of Feroseh, which before had produced but one scanty harvest, now produced two abundant ones. This circar (Hissar-Ferozeh) ever since the conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls, has constituted the personal estate of the heir apparent of the empire."—KIRKPATRICK'S MS. in RENNELL, 75. The greater part of these canals, however, and the fort at Sirhind, built by Ferose, have long been in ruins, owing to the dreadful ravages committed by the Seiks.

terms of the princes of the Deccan, so that these two great branches were lopped off from the body of the empire. The greatest blot on the character of this monarch is his inhumanity to the inhabitants of Kumaoon. The princes of that country having given shelter to a criminal, who had murdered the governor of Budayoon, Ferose sent a detachment of his army against them, and thirty thousand of the unhappy mountaineers were brought back and condemned to slavery. He afterwards made an annual hunting expedition into those parts; and by degrees, the inhabitants of whole districts were cut off or expelled, and the country changed to a wilderness. Finding the infirmities of age pressing hard upon him, Ferose, in 1386, abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Mahommed; but he lived to resume the reins of authority on the expulsion of that prince by the dissatisfied omrahs, and, at their advice, to place his grandson, Toghlik, upon the throne. Shortly after this, in 1387, he expired, at the age of ninety, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign.

Toghlik II., a weak and dissolute prince, after a reign of only five months, was removed by assassination. Abubeker, his brother, then enjoyed the honours of royalty for a year and a half, but was compelled to surrender them to his uncle, Mahommed, who, after an obstinate contest, was restored to the throne he had occupied during the life-time of his father. After a troubled reign of six years and a half, he was succeeded by his son, Humaioon (Allah-ud-dein Secunder), who was taken off by illness at the end of forty-five days, and Mamood III., another son of Mahommed, was placed upon the throne. Shortly after, a hostile faction set up a rival claimant in the person of Prince Nuserit, a grandson of Ferose III.,

and a civil war ensued. The whole empire now fell into a state of anarchy and confusion. For some time, the two kings, in arms against one another, resided in different quarters of the same capital, and thousands perished in the daily affrays between the two parties. Ekbal Khan, the vizier, at length contrived to expel the one, and to get into his power the other; and things were in this state of hopeless disorder, when, to consummate the miseries of the people, news was brought, that Timour, at the head of 90,000 Moguls, had crossed the Indus (A.D. 1398).

The invasion of India by this ruthless exterminator was an inroad, rather than a conquest; for, after overrunning the country to the banks of the Ganges, in a single campaign, he withdrew his legions as suddenly as he had appeared with them, leaving nothing to mark his course or to perpetuate his conquests, but the silence of depopulation and the terrors of his name. The primary object of his invasion, apparently, was to support his grandson, Peer Mahommed, who, after taking Moultan, had met with reverses, being closely pressed by the Patan governor of Batneir (Bhatnir, the Battenize of Dow). Timour crossed the Indus * in September, and proceeded to attack a strong post on an island of the Behut. Intimidated at his approach, the governor embarked by night in his flotilla, and the garrison surrendered. Timour then descended that river for five or six days, to its confluence with the Chunaub, opposite the fort of Yelmeny, which submitted at once to the conqueror. Crossing the Chunaub, he reached, on the same day, another river,

* "On the exact spot where, about 177 years before, it had been crossed by Sultan Jullaul-ud-dein, the Khauresmian, in his disastrous flight from the vengeance of Jenguiz."—PRICE, iii. 234. See Rennell, 116.

(which must be the Rauvee,) and encamped on the plains of Tolûmbah;* summoning the inhabitants of that town to contribute the sum of two laks, as the price of their safety. Nearly the whole of this had been levied, when the soldiers tumultuously entered the town to search for provisions, and, not content with this, began a general plunder. The inhabitants, in opposing this outrage, were massacred without mercy, and their houses set on fire, those of the *seyuds* being, however, *religiously* exempted. The next day, Timour marched to the banks of the Beyah, where he was opposed by a detachment of Ghickers (or Gougres), who had taken up a strong position in the marshes. They were almost all cut off. The conqueror then took possession of Shahnawauz, where the army found an abundant supply of corn, of which they carried off as much as they required, burning the remainder. Proceeding along the right bank of the Beyah, he again encamped on the same river, opposite to the town of Jenjaun, about sixty miles N.E. of Moultan, where he was met by Peer Mahommed. Thence, crossing the Sutlej (about Oct. 31), he marched forty miles to Jehwaul. Here, placing the heavy baggage in charge of two of his officers, he directed them to proceed with the main body by the route of Debalpore, on the Upper Sutlej, so as to join him at Samanah, while he hastened in person, with 10,000 chosen cavalry, by a more southern route, to Adjooden (about twenty miles), and thence, marching by day and night, upwards of 100 miles across the desert, to Batneir.†

* "It was in the neighbourhood of this place, that Alexander made war on the *Malli*, or people of ancient Moultan."—RENNELL, p. 118.

† We give the details of this march, interesting in a geographical

The fortress of Batneir, which is described as a place of almost impregnable strength, is incorrectly asserted to have been, up to this period, never taken by foreign invaders.* Its almost inaccessible situation, near the eastern extremity of the sandy desert which extends south of the Sutlej, may have contributed to its supposed security. It had now become the asylum to which the inhabitants of Adjooden and Debalpore, and of all the adjacent districts, fled for protection; and so great was the multitude which thronged its gates under the terrors of invasion, that the compass of the walls was too narrow for their reception. Numbers of the unhappy fugitives, with a prodigious assemblage of cattle, were obliged to take shelter under the walls and in the suburbs; and they became the immediate prey of these formidable and unexpected visitants. The outer city (or fortified suburbs) was soon carried by assault, although Timour had only a body of horse with him, unsupported by artillery. Râo Doultchund (or Raw Chilligi), the governor, shewed some disposition to defend the interior fort; but he was at length induced to seek safety by capitulation, which was granted. All those who had borne arms against Peer Mahommed, and had taken refuge in this place, were, however, exempted from the benefit of the treaty; and five hundred inhabitants of Debalpoor and Adjooden were immediately put to

point of view, on the authority of Major Price's translation of the *Rouzut-ul-Suffa*. Adjooden stands on the Doona river, called by Dow, the river of Adjodin, and supposed by Major Rennell to be one of the four branches of the Sutlej, ("or possibly the Doud,") two *kosse* from a range of hills called *Khaules-Kouteli* (Chalis Kole). After a short halt here, Timour is stated to have continued his march without intermission, to Batneir, performing this extraordinary march of 50 *kosse* (about 87 miles) in less than 24 hours.

* It was taken by Mahmoud. See p. 165.

death, their wives and children being condemned to slavery. It is probable that the vengeance of Timour might have been satisfied with this sacrifice; but, whether led by this massacre to expect a similar fate, or driven to desperation by the oppressive exactions of the enemy, the inhabitants closed their gates against the ferocious conqueror, upon which the order for their extermination was issued. When the soldiers of Timour again approached to scale the ramparts, the infidel Rajpoots (as they are styled) set fire to the town, and having murdered their wives and children, prepared, in the frenzy of despair, to sell their lives to their assailants at the point of the sword. In the midst of the conflagration, a deadly conflict ensued. Some thousands of the Moguls perished; and Timour, exasperated, left nothing to indicate the site of this once populous town, but a few melancholy heaps of ashes.

On the third day after the destruction of Batneir, Timour marched to *Kinaur-e-aub-e-haous* (the side of the tank); and thence, on the day following, to Sursutty (or Sareswatty), on the river of that name. The inhabitants evacuated the town at his approach, but were pursued, and a great number cut to pieces. A similar fate awaited the fugitives from Futtehabad, Timour's next station, eighteen *kósse* in a northerly direction. Ahrouny, a fortified town, was next sacked and reduced to ashes, the greater part of the inhabitants being put to the sword, and the rest led captive, "because there was no individual among them of sufficient good sense or prudence to come forward with an appeal to the clemency of the conqueror." *

* The adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani (perhaps Ahrouny), and Jonah, are mentioned by Ferishta, as sharing the fate of Futtehabad.

Timour then entered the jungles, in search of the Jatts (or Jauts) who infested those parts, and who at his approach had retired into the forests: no fewer than two thousand of these proscribed barbarians were hunted up and slain, their families falling into the hands of their exterminators. At the bridge of Koupelah (probably over the Sursutty)* Timour rejoined the other divisions of his army, which had in the mean time carried fire and sword through the province of Lahore; and the whole body now moved towards Delhi, which was still distant about a hundred miles to the S.E. Every where, the inhabitants fled at their approach, leaving their houses and property a prey to the merciless invaders, who left nothing living behind them. Assendy, Toghlûkpoor,† and Paniput were thus successively occupied and desolated. In order to provide forage for his vast army, Timour crossed the Jumna, and took by storm the fortified town of Louni, the inhabitants of which were all put to the sword, except the Mohammedans; and the town, after being pillaged, was laid in ruins. He then marched down the river, and encamped opposite Delhi.‡

It was during the short suspension of active hostilities which now took place before commencing the siege of the capital, that this execrable barbarian, ap-

* Ferishta states, that the general rendezvous was at Keitil or Keytuhl, a town within ten miles of Samanah; but in the *Rouzut-ul-suffa*, this is mentioned as the next station after the junction of the two divisions.

† Major Price supposes this to be the same place as the *Suffeedon* of the maps, about twenty miles west of Pauniput.

‡ Timour's march from Samanah to Delhi, about 85 *kosses*, according to Rennell, appears to have taken up twelve days; "whence we may collect, that the common marches of his grand army were about seven common *kosses* each day, or about thirteen miles and a half by the road."—RENNELL, p. 120.

prehensive that, on the slightest reverse, his prisoners would join their countrymen, issued the mandate for the massacre of all the male idolaters above the age of fifteen. According to the lowest computation, no fewer than a hundred thousand of the natives of India perished in this horrible butchery. Before the gates of Delhi, Sultan Mahmoud made one brave and desperate effort to defend his throne and people. The whole force of his army does not appear to have exceeded 12,000 horse and 40,000 foot; and their chief dependence rested upon a formidable line of armed elephants, a hundred and twenty in number, each bearing a wooden turret filled with archers and slingers. The Jagatay soldiers, unused to this formidable spectacle, were at first appalled by their appearance; and Timour found it necessary to fortify his camp by a breastwork of hurdles, strengthened by a ditch, with a number of buffaloes picketed in front. The attack was commenced by Mahmoud, and the battle is admitted to have been fought with the bravery of desperation on the part of the Indians; but at length, the elephant line was broken, and the routed natives were pursued with great slaughter to the gates of the city. In the night, the Sultan made his escape to Gujerat, and Delhi submitted on the promise of protection to the inhabitants in their lives and property. These conditions, Timour was, perhaps, unable to enforce.* His savage and undisciplined troops rushed by thousands into the city; and the Hindoos, seeing their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and their wives and daughters the

* It is credible, that Timour might, as his apologists argue, wish to save the capital from general pillage, by which his soldiers only were enriched, and he was deprived of the immense ransom that would otherwise have come into the imperial treasury.

victims of brutal violence, rose upon their insolent oppressors. Great numbers set fire to their habitations, and, with their wives and children, cast themselves into the flames. The horrors of pillage and massacre were soon extended throughout the city. "The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians," says the Translator of Ferishta, "was at length cooled in their own blood. Throwing down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive that cowardice is the mother of despair.* In the city, the Hindoos were at least ten to one superior in number to the enemy; and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault."† All who escaped the sword of the spoiler, were driven into slavery. The meanest soldier had twenty slaves in his possession; others found themselves masters of fifty and sixty; and not a few led out of the town a hundred captives, including women and children. Of the booty, in jewels, particularly diamonds and rubies, in rich furniture and utensils of gold and silver, with other valuable effects, it would be scarcely possible, we are told, to estimate the almost incalculable aggregate. The most skilful workmen, mechanics, and artificers were distributed as slaves among the princes of the blood and "the ladies of the imperial family who accompanied the expedition;" others were sent to the younger branches

* In the massacre of the Isfahanees by the Afghans, the same effects of despondency were exhibited, though not to an equal degree.—See MOD. TRAV., Persia, vol. i. p. 196.

† Dow, vol. ii. p. 7.

and the royal dames of Samarcand; but all the artificers in stone and marble were reserved, by order of Timour, to erect a *Jumma-mesjed* (grand mosque) on his return to his capital, on the plan of that at Delhi.*

Timour remained only a fortnight in the environs of the capital, and then removed to Feroozabad, on the Jumna, about six miles below Delhi, where he received, in token of submission, from the chief of Koteilah (or Mewat), two white parrots, which had been transferred from one Indian sovereign to another, from the time of Sultan Toghluk (A.D. 1321-5), and which must therefore have been at this time upwards of seventy-four years old.† He then entered the Doab, and proceeded to invest the fortress of Meirta (or Merat), about fifty miles N.N.E. of Delhi, which, under an Afghan chief, made a determined resistance. It was taken by storm, and the garrison, as usual, were put to the sword, the women and children being carried into captivity. Continuing his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewaulik, his way being marked by fire and sword, Timour reached, at Peyrouzpoor, the banks of the Ganges. He crossed that river with a detachment of his army, about six miles

* Of the three towns composing this celebrated city, at the time of the invasion, we have the following brief description. "The town of Srei, situated to the east inclining to north, which appears to have stood on the same ground with the ancient city of Indraput, and of the still more ancient one of Hustnapoor, was encircled with an oval wall; and that of old Dehly, lying in the opposite direction of west inclining to the south, was inclosed with a similar rampart, but of much greater compass. Between these two towns, and connecting them together, were two long walls, giving protection to the Jahaunpunnah; an intermediate suburb, far more extensive than either of the former two divisions. The three towns communicated with the country and with each other by thirty gates."—PRICE, vol. iii. p. 266.

† Price, iii. 268.

higher up, and prosecuted his march to Toghlukpoor. Near that place, he was attacked from the river by a flotilla of boats; and it was not till after a severe contest that the Indians were defeated. After this, Timour found himself opposed by Mubarik Khan, at the head of a numerous force, which he put to flight, taking considerable booty. Scarcely had he removed from the field, when information was brought, that another large body of Hindoos were collected at the foot of the pass of Koupelah. At the head of only five hundred horse, Timour had the rashness to advance towards this formidable host; and for once, he turned his back upon the enemy, and fled from his pursuer.* He was relieved from his hazardous position by the unexpected arrival of a large body of troops under Peer Mahommed, his grandson, with whose aid the Hindoos were defeated with severe loss. He then advanced to one of the *prayags*, or junctions of the head-streams of the sacred river, where he found the Hindoos again strongly posted. They were instantly attacked, and, according to the Mohammedan historians, put to the sword. It is certain, nevertheless, that Timour's zeal to exterminate the worshippers of Ganges, suddenly gave way to considerations of prudence. "Recollecting all at once, that the country was now effectually relieved from the polluted sway of the enemies of the true faith, and that his victorious legions were incumbered, beyond measure, by the immensity of the booty which had fallen into their

*The Author of the *Rousut-ul-safa* pretends, that Timour was called off from engaging sword to sword with the Indian chief who advanced to meet him, by an attendant calling out, that it was one of the imperial vassals. "Misled by this false information, Timour *turned short* towards the neighbouring range of hills;" and he was not *undeceived* till an arrow had brought down his pursuer.—PRICE, iii. 273.

hands, this mild reformer conceived the sudden resolution of returning upon his steps; and accordingly, repassing the Ganges, on the very same day, by the hour of noon, he proceeded along the western bank of the river downwards, making a march of five *kosse* before he found it convenient to encamp for the evening....Satisfied with having purged the empire of Delhi from the pollutions of infidelity and idolatry, he now adopted the final resolution of withdrawing, without further delay, into his native dominions; and for that purpose, on the 13th of January, 1399, he quitted the banks of the Ganges, his operations on that celebrated river being confined to the short period of four days."*

The course of his march now took him in a north-westerly direction towards the Upper Jumna. On entering the defiles of the Sewaulik mountains, he was again encountered by a native rajah, who had taken up a strong position at the head of a powerful body of troops. The conflict was fierce and sanguinary; and the natives, though beaten, seem not to have been dispirited. They took up a new position in a thick

* Price, iii. 276. There is some difficulty in determining the position of the places mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Toghlukpoor and the straits of Koupelah, from Sherefeddin's account of the march, cannot, Major Rennell remarks, be far from Lqldong (fifteen miles S.E. from Hurdwar), where the British army completed their campaign in 1774, 1100 British miles from Calcutta. "At the time of Timour's conquest (1398), the British nation had scarcely been announced to the people of Hindostan; nor was it till 200 years afterwards, that they found their way thither. Who could have believed, that the British conquests would meet those of Tamerlane, in a point equidistant from the mouths of the Ganges and the Indus, in 1774?"—RENNELL, p. 131, *note*. In some MS. maps in the learned Author's possession, two small rivers, named *Coah* and *Peely*, descend from the hills on the east of Hurdwar; and the confluent streams, he suggests, may be the Coupele or Coah-Peely of the history.

forest, impervious to the Mogul cavalry; and Timour's soldiers had to cut their way by torch-light, through the jungle, for the distance of twelve *kosse* (about eighteen miles), by which means they at length reached the valley lying between the mountains of Koukeh and Sewaulik. The natives seem to have contented themselves with harassing their retreat, without attempting to make head against them in the open plain. In the course of the month which was thus occupied among the mountains and forests of this wild tract of country, Timour is stated to have fought twenty-seven battles, and reduced seven castles of singular strength. At length, he emerged into a rich district of corn-land, and entering the valley of the Jummoo, arrived at the town of Menou. The inhabitants of this district are described as a tall, robust, and athletic people, whose country, from its hills and forests, was generally deemed unassailable. "Encouraged by such a belief, after having conveyed their women and children to the tops of the remotest hills, the native chiefs, with the bravest of the men, took post on one of the most inaccessible ranges, whence they continually assailed the invaders with volleys of arrows and other missiles, insulting them at the same time with the most barbarous and savage outcries. For doubtless competent reasons, Timour conceived it advisable to confine his vengeance to the pillage of the town of Menou; after which, on their return, the imperial troops entered that of Jummoo, where they found such prodigious magazines of grain and other articles of sustenance, as to furnish an abundant supply for all their wants."* On the 27th of February,

* Price, iii. 283, 4. The Rajah of Jummoo (the Jimmugur of Dow) afterwards falling into the hands of Timour, in a skirmish with the rear of his army, "it was thought advisable that the

having crossed the Jummoo for the last time, and continued his march about eight miles, Timour encamped on the left bank of the Chunaub. On the 7th of March, while the army were encamped at Jebhan, on the frontiers of Cashmeer, Timour left the army, to hasten in person to Samarcand; and on the 9th, he reached the left bank of the Indus; "being the fifty-seventh day since his departure from the vicinity of the Ganges, and just five months and seventeen days from the period at which he crossed the Indus to the eastward, at the commencement of this memorable expedition."*

The manner in which Timour withdrew from India, was certainly very unlike that of a conqueror; and there is reason to suspect, that the partiality of the Mohammedan historians has led them to throw a false colouring over this unglorious termination of his expedition: "We do not find," remarks Mr. Dow, "that Timour appointed any king to govern Hindostan. He confirmed the *soubahs* who had submitted to him, in their governments; and from this circumstance, we may suppose that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations." All that he appears to have reserved for himself, was the possession of the Punjaub; and this, his successors did not long retain. What is still more remarkable, it does not appear from either Sherefeddin, Timour's partial biographer and panegyrist, or from Ferishta, that Timour carried much treasure with him out of Hindostan. Dur-

rajah's wounds should be made the object of peculiar care, and he was finally prevailed upon to make profession of the Mohammedan creed." By this means, he secured the favour of Timour.

* Price, iii. 267.

ing his life, which terminated in 1405, he was prayed for in the mosques of Hindostan; and the coin was struck in his name; but this, Major Rennell remarks, might be more the effect of policy in the usurpers of Mahmood's throne, than the act of Timour himself.* Notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands whom he is represented as having sacrificed in the fury of his religious zeal, or on the cooler calculations of policy, and the still greater number led into captivity, the waste of life seems hardly to have left a void in the populous country. Things speedily reverted to their old course, and were involved, under the nominal reign of Mahmood, in the same anarchy.

The city of Delhi had remained in disorder and desolation for two months after the departure of Timour, when it was taken possession of by Nuserit. He was subsequently expelled by Ekbal, who resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had escaped by flight, began to assemble again; and the place, in a short time, Ferishta states, especially the quarter called the New City, put on the appearance of populousness. Lahore, Debalpoor, and Moultan remained in the possession of Khyzir (or Khuzzer) Khan, who had been confirmed in his government by Timour; Kanouje, Oude, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, were held by Khaja Jehan, who assumed the title of royalty; Gujerat and Malwah were also in the hands of independent chieftains; and,

* Rennell, p. lv. Timour's views, the learned Writer observes, "were, at this time, directed towards the Turkish empire; and this made him neglect India, which did not promise so plentiful a harvest of glory as the other." This appears hardly a sufficient explanation of his conduct. It is very probable, however, that intelligence of the insubordinate state of Georgia and Azerbijan, hastened his departure from India.—See MOD. TRAV. *Persia*, i. 166.

in fact, all the provincial governors laid claim to the style of sovereignty. Some of these were brought into subjection by the restless Ekbal; at whose invitation, in 1401, the ex-emperor Mahmoud returned from Gujerat to Delhi, and accepted of a pension. He afterwards escaped from this ignoble bondage; but, on the death of Ekbal, who was slain in a combat with Khyzir Khan, he was recalled to occupy the throne. His death, in 1413, terminated a reign marked by singular vicissitudes and unparalleled disasters; and with him ended the Khuljean (Chilligi) or second Patan dynasty.* The omrahs, indeed, raised to the throne Dowlat Lodi, a Patan by nation; but, after a nominal reign of little more than a year, he was obliged to surrender to Khyzir Khan, who thus became lord of Lahore, Moultan, and Delhi.

Khyzir was by birth a *seyud*, or of the race of the Prophet; and his father had been governor of Moultan, in the reign of Ferose III. "Out of gratitude to his benefactor Timour," we are told, "he did not assume the title of Sultan, but continued to have the *khutbah* read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled *Ayaut-Aala* (Most High in Dignity). On the death of Timour, the *khutbah* was read in the name of his son Shah Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khyzir Khan."† Khyzir had even the policy to send sometimes a tribute to Samarcand. At his death in 1421, he was succeeded, according to his expressed will, by his son Mubarik

* Including the interruptions, this inglorious reign lasted rather more than twenty years. "He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived," says Ferishta, "as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood." He might have added, he sent them Timour.

† Ayeen Akbery, ii. 114.

Shah, who, after a reign of thirteen years, was assassinated by his vizier; and, in pursuance of previous arrangements, the traitor placed on the throne one of the grandsons of Khyzir, Sultan Mahommed V. This weak and dissolute prince, after a troubled reign of twelve years, was succeeded by his son Alla II., who, conscious of his incompetency, and wearied of the toils of empire, at length surrendered the reins of government to Bheloli, an Afghan of the Lodi tribe, on condition of being permitted to end his days quietly at Budayoon.* Bheloli, who was already in possession of the city, and had associated his name with that of Allah in the *khutbah*, immediately dropped the recognition of his sovereignty, and "spread the umbrella of empire over his own head."

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Bheloli, had raised himself by his wealth† to the government of Moultan, in the reign of Ferose; and his uncle, Islam Khan, had been subsequently made governor of Sirhind. At his death, he was so powerful, that he retained in his service 12,000 Afghans, mostly of his own tribe. Bheloli had been appointed his heir, and his party ultimately acquiring the ascendancy, he secured the government of Sirhind, to which he afterwards added Punjaub and Debalpoor, and at last the sovereignty of Delhi. He was esteemed for those days, says Ferishta, a mild and virtuous prince; was brave, though cautious, temperate and liberal, and fond of the company of learned men. He died a natural death, in the 80th year of his reign. His son and successor, Secunder I., recovered a consi-

* He survived his abdication twenty-eight years, and died at Budayoon.

† The tribe of Lodi, "forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Persia and Hindostan." This explains the source of their wealth.

derable part of the empire, and, in 1501, made Agra the royal residence. It was during his reign that the Portuguese first accomplished the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope; but, as their connections were entirely with the maritime parts of the Deccan, no notice of this event is taken by Ferishta. Under his son, Ibrahim II., the empire again fell to pieces; and after a reign of twenty years, this "proud and wicked prince" lost his kingdom and his life in the field of Paniput, A. D. 1525, to the illustrious Mahommed Baber, in whose person the sovereignty was transferred from the Lodi family to the race of Timour.

The life of this extraordinary man would deserve to be given much more in detail, than the limits of an historical outline will admit of. He has left us a singularly interesting auto-biographical memoir, which not only lets us into the knowledge of his own character, but throws great light on the manners of his countrymen; forming, in fact, a very lively and graphic illustration of oriental history.*

Zehir-ed-din Muhammed,† surnamed Baber (the Tiger), was born on the 14th of Feb., 1483. On his father's side, he traced up his descent in a direct line to the great Timour Beg, while, by his mother's side, he was sprung from Chenghiz Khan. In the twelfth

* These memoirs, originally written by Baber in the Jaghatái Turki dialect, and translated into Persian in the reign of Akber, have been rendered accessible to the English reader, by the united labours of the late Dr. Leyden and William Erskine, Esq. This volume, so honourable to the learning and diligence of the Editor, forms a most important accession to our historical and geographical literature.

† We find it impossible to adhere to a uniform orthography, and have, therefore, generally followed that of our authority. This will explain the variations that occur in our pages. Thus, the word *din* (faith), with the article prefixed, is written by different orientalists, *ul dien, ud-dein, uddeen, eddin, u-deen, el-din*, &c.

year of his age, on the death of his father, Sultan Omer-shiekh Mirza, he became king of Ferghâna. At that period, one of his uncles was king of Samarcand and Bokhâra; another was sovereign of Hissar, Termiz, Kundez, Badakshan, and Khutlân; a third was king of Caubul and Ghizni; and his maternal uncle, a Mogul prince, held the fertile provinces of Tashkend and Shahrokheia along the Jaxartes. Sultan Hussein Mirza Baikra, a descendant of the great Timour, and the most powerful prince of his age, was sovereign of Khorasan. His contemporaries in Europe were, Henry VII. and Henry VIII. of England; Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; the Emperors Maximilien and Charles V.; and in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella.

Baber's father had left his dominions in considerable disorder. Immediately before his death, his relatives and neighbours, the Sultan of Samarcand and the Khan of Tashkend, having taken offence at his conduct (his inroads into their territories seem referred to), had entered into an alliance to invade his dominions from opposite points. Baber was, at that time, in Andejân; and young as he was, he promptly determined to secure the citadel. In the mean time, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, having made himself master of the districts of Uratippa, Khojend, and Marghinan, had encamped within four *farsangs* of the capital, when Baber sent an embassy to him with a message to this effect: "It is plain that you must place some one of your servants in charge of this country; I am at once your servant and your son: if you intrust me with this employment, your purpose will be attained in the most satisfactory and easy way." A harsh answer was returned to this politic overture; but accidental circumstances subsequently disposed the

invader to patch up a peace. A fatal disease had attacked the horses of his army; added to which, the troops were already dispirited by the loss of many animals in crossing the Kaba river, and by finding themselves opposed by a resolute enemy. Sultan Ahmed died on his way back to Samarcand. Mahmood Khan, at the same time, after an ineffectual attempt to take Akhsi, fell sick, and disgusted with the war, returned to his own country. The King of Kashgar and Khoten, seized, like the rest, with the desire of conquest, shortly after entered the territories of Baber; but he, too, was glad to extricate himself from his situation, by an amicable negotiation.

Ferghâna (the modern Kokaun), is a country of small extent, consisting of a valley or plain, surrounded with hills on all sides, except on the west, (towards Khojend and Samarcand,) and intersected by the river Sirr or Seihoon (the ancient Jaxartes). On the east, it has Kâshgar; on the south, the hill-country bordering on Badakshân; and on the north, a desolate tract, at that time overun by the Uzbegs. This his hereditary territory, Baber did not, however, long retain. In 1497, he gained possession of Samarcand, but was compelled to evacuate it soon after, by rebellion in his own kingdom. His army deserted him; and he was left without territory, at the head of a mere handful of devoted followers. A severe illness, at this crisis, had nearly terminated his career, and he speaks of his distress and suffering as extreme. A counter revolution restored him to the possession of Andejân in the following year; and a second time, he made himself master of Samarcand by surprise, and lost his hereditary states while engaged in the enterprise. The invader, Sheibani Khan, a powerful Uzbeg chieftain, after defeating Baber in the field, blockaded him in

Samarcand; and he was again compelled to evacuate it with a few attendants. Assisted by two of his maternal uncles, he subsequently endeavoured to recover Ferghâna, but he was completely defeated, the two Khans being taken prisoners; and during nearly a year, he was a fugitive, concealing himself in the hill-country to the south of his native kingdom, and often reduced to the greatest exigencies. At length, finding his partisans completely dispersed, and all hopes gone of recovering his hereditary possessions, after consulting with his few remaining adherents, he resolved to try his fortune in Khorasan. With this view, in the summer of 1504, he descended from the hills of Ferghâna, at the head of between two and three hundred ragged and ill armed followers. Badakshan was, at that time, under the dominion of Khosrou Shah, an unpopular chief; and Baber avows, that he was not without hopes of effecting something there among his territories. On crossing the Amu, he found himself joined by fresh adherents, who assured him that the Moguls in Khosrou Shah's service, were all attached to his interests; and he seems to have regarded it as an act of fair hostility, to avail himself of this state of things for the purpose of dethroning and expelling Khosrou, and seating himself in his stead. This was accomplished without drawing a sword, the Shah, on finding himself deserted by all the Mogul clans, tendering to Baber his own submission.*

At this period, the territory of Caubul was in a state of anarchy, and the capital in the hands of a usurper. Baber resolved to march against it; and by

* Ferishta accuses Baber of bringing about this revolution by his intrigues, notwithstanding that he had been treated by Khosrou Shah with great hospitality; but Baber himself expressly disavows any such obligation to the Shah.

the latter end of October, he had gained possession of Caubul and Ghizni, with the dependent territories, without battle or contest. He was now in a condition to extend his conquests in a new direction. Having mustered his army and assembled the persons best acquainted with the situation of the country, he made particular inquiries, he tells us, regarding the state of the different districts on every hand. Some were for marching against Damaun; others preferred Bangash; while others proposed to advance against Hindostan; and it was at last determined in council to make an irruption into the latter country. "I had never before," says Baber, "seen the warm countries, nor the country of Hindostan. Immediately on reaching them, I beheld a new world. The grass was different, the trees different, the wild animals of a different sort, the birds of a different plumage, the manners and customs of the wandering tribes (*ils* or *eels* and *uluses*) of a different kind. I was struck with astonishment; and, indeed, there was room for wonder."* In this expedition, however, Baber did not cross the Indus, but confined his inroad to the countries on the western side. He afterwards made incursions upon the Afghans and Uzbegs of Candahar and Khorasan. During one of these expeditions, the Mogul garrison of Caubul, taking advantage of his absence, revolted, and raised to the throne his cousin Ryzâk. No sooner had intelligence of this revolution reached the army, than the greater part of the troops hastened back to protect their families; so that, out

* Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, p. 157. The road taken by Baber in this incursion, was by Adinapoor and Attok. Mr. Forster, in travelling the same road in an opposite direction, was similarly struck with the sudden change of climate immediately perceptible on crossing a small stream three miles E. of Gundamouk.

of upwards of 10,000 horse, Baber had scarcely 500 remaining in his camp. With this small force, he boldly returned to Caubul, where he was met by Ryzâk at the head of a force ten or twelve thousand strong. Riding up close to the rebel army, Baber challenged his rival to single combat; but, as he seemed to decline it, five omrahs successively engaged him, and fell by his hand. This heroic behaviour struck the rebels with so much admiration, that they refused to fight, and the usurper found himself a prisoner. Baber pardoned him; but soon after, being detected in attempting to raise fresh disturbances, he was put to death.*

On the death of Sheibani Khan, who fell in a war which he had wantonly provoked with Shah Ismael, now sovereign of Persia, attachment to his native soil led Baber to make another attempt at recovering Samarcand. It failed, owing to the mismanagement of his Persian allies, and the unpopularity he incurred from his confederacy with the Shiahs; and from that period, he confined himself in his enterprises to an eastern direction. He made several demonstrations in that quarter, before he finally marched upon Hindostan with the view of permanent conquest. Soon after the death of Iskander (Secunder,) he had sent an

* It is remarkable, that we do not learn this chivalrous achievement from Baber himself, there occurring in this part of his Memoirs a *hiatus*, common to all the MSS., and wholly unaccountable. The account of the transactions of his life from 1508 to 1519, is supplied chiefly by Ferishta, whom we have followed. It would appear, however, from Baber's own account, that he was at Caubul when this revolt exploded, and that he was obliged to seek security by flight. See Dow, ii. 88—96. Erskine's Mem. of Baber, 236. This was the second time that the Moguls had conspired against him. On the former occasion (A.D. 1506), they had placed his cousin, Khan Mirza, on the throne of Caubul, who fled at his approach.

envoy to Sultan Ibrahim, demanding the cession of the countries of Behreh (Bhirá), Khushab, Chanáb, and Chaniut, which, from the days of Timour, had belonged to the Toorks. No answer was returned to this civil demand; but Baber proceeded to take possession of part of the territory. In 1524, at the invitation of the Afghan governors of the Punjaub, Baber entered that province, and after subduing the country of the Gakers (or Gickers), and defeating some forces in the interest of Ibrahim, plundered and burned Lahore. He then advanced to Debalpoor, which he took by storm, and a general massacre ensued. Crossing the Sutlej, he had proceeded as far as Sirhind, when the treacherous defection of one of the Punjaub chieftains rendered it expedient to fall back on Lahore, and to abandon, for that year, the further prosecution of his enterprise. In the course of this invasion, he had been joined by Sultan Allah-ud-deen,* a brother of the Emperor Ibrahim, on whom he bestowed Debalpoor; and he probably flattered him with the hope of succeeding to the throne of Delhi. Allah afterwards entered into a separate treaty with Dowlet Lodi Khan, by which he ceded to him all the Punjaub, on condition of being put in possession of Delhi and Agra. These confederates then marched upon Delhi; and Allah, being joined in his advance by several ameers of rank, found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, with which he laid siege to the capital, but without success. Soon after, in an attempt to surprise Sultan Ibrahim's camp by night, he was defeated, and his whole army dispersed.

Baber had advanced as far as Sialkot on his fifth and final invasion of India, (December 1525,) when

* This was his royal title. Baber always calls him Alim Khan.

news of this defeat were brought to him.* On the 1st of January, he crossed the Beyah, and on the third day after, invested Milwat, which was surrendered to him by Dowlet Khan. Baber now, to use his own language, placed his foot in the stirrup of resolution, and his hand on the reins of confidence in God, and marched against Sultan Ibrahim. On the 12th of March, he crossed the Jumna, opposite to Sisâweh; and on the 12th of April, (a skirmish with the enemy's advanced guard having occurred in the interval,) he encamped before Paniput. The army of Ibrahim consisted by this time of 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants; while that of Baber, according to Ferishta, numbered not more than 13,000. On the 21st, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber, having divided his troops into two lines and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front, took post himself in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim, on the other hand, unskilled in the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, vainly imagining that he could bear down his enemy by force of superior numbers. He soon found himself fatally deceived. The known courage and steady order of the Mogul troops soon broke the unwieldy column which advanced upon them, while Baber's two bodies of reserve, wheeling with speed round the flanks of the enemy, attacked them in rear. Between five and six thousand men were found lying slain in one spot, near the Sultan; and more than three times that number, according to

* Dow says: "When Baber heard of the defeat of Allah, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring of A.H. 932, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan." This is at direct variance with Baber's own statement.

the lowest computation, were left on the field. Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory, sending forward detachments by forced marches, to occupy Agra and Delhi, and to secure the treasuries, while he followed with the rear. On the 10th of May, he entered Agra, and took up his residence in the palace of the slain monarch.

Thus was the Patan empire of Hindostan finally overthrown, and this devoted country tranferred, for the third time, to a foreign invader. Baber might justly boast, that the achievement which made him master of Hindostan, was far bolder and more extraordinary in every respect, than the conquest effected by Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni, or that of Shahab-ud-deen Ghouri. "This success," he says, in that singular strain of devout acknowledgement which pervades his Memoirs, "I do not ascribe to my own strength, nor did this good fortune flow from my own efforts, but from the fountain of the favour and mercy of God."*

The internal state of India at this era, is thus described by the Emperor himself.

"At the period when I conquered the country, five Mussulman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable rais and rajas in the hills and woody country, yet, these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose government included the capital, and extended

* Erskine's Mem. p. 310. Only a few years before, a conquest still more extraordinary had transferred the empire of Mexico to a Spanish adventurer. Mexico was finally taken in 1521. In Europe, the taking of Belgrade and Rhodes by Soliman the Magnificent, and the battle of Pavia, were events nearly contemporaneous.

from Behreh to Bahar. Jonpûr, before it fell into the power of the Afghans, was held by Sultan Hussein Sherki. This dynasty they call the Pûrebi (Eastern).* The second prince was Sultan Muhammed Muzeffer, in Gujrât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat. They call this race Tang. The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dekhan; but at the present time, the Sultans of the Dekhan have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs any thing, he is obliged to ask it of his own amîrs. The fourth king was Sultan Mahmûd, who reigned in the country of Mâlwâ, which they likewise call Mându. This dynasty was called the Kilji. Rana Sanka, a Pagan, had defeated them, and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak. The fifth prince was Nusrat Shah in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a syed of the name of Sultan Alâeddîn. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. There is a throne allotted for the king; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the amîrs, vazîrs, and mansabdârs. It is that throne and these stations alone, which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of de-

* *Purebi*, in Hindostanee, answers to *Sharki* or *Sherki*, in Arabic or Persian, and appears to be the same word as *Purob* and *Purva*. See. p. 107. Khaja Jehan, vizier to Mahmoud III., was the first who, having established himself in the independent sovereignty of Bahar, fixed his residence at Jionpoor, and assumed the title of Sultan Sherki (King of the East). Dow, i. 322. This transitory kingdom seems to have answered, both in name and locality, to the ancient Prachi.

pendants, servants, and attendants are annexed to each of these situations. When the king wishes to dismiss or appoint any person, whosoever is placed in the seat of the one dismissed, is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependants, servants, and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies: nay, this rule obtains even as to the royal throne itself. Whoever kills the king, and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king; all the amîrs, vazîrs, soldiers, and peasants instantly obey and submit to him, and consider him as being as much their sovereign as they did their former prince, and obey his orders as implicitly.* The people of Bengal say: 'We are faithful to the throne: whoever fills the throne, we are obedient and true to it.' There is another usage in Bengal: it is reckoned disgraceful and mean for any king to spend or diminish the treasures of his predecessors. It is reckoned necessary for every king, on mounting the throne, to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction.†

* "Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one once prevailed, down to a very late period, in Malabar. There was a jubilee, every twelve years, in the Samorin's country; and any one who succeeded in forcing his way through the Samorin's guards, and slew him, reigned in his stead. (Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 309.) The attempt was made in 1695, and again a very few years ago, but without success."—Note in ERSKINE. In the Birman empire, the possession of the royal fort appears almost to confer the regal power on its occupant.—See MOD. TRAV. Birmah, p. 36. Whatever may be the historical origin of the custom referred to, the sentiment ascribed to the natives of Bengal, seems the natural effect of the perpetual revolutions which they were accustomed to witness, on their passive, timid character.

† Supposing this custom to have prevailed in the Deccan, it will serve to explain the immense treasure which its monarchs had accumulated in the lapse of ages.

"The five kings who have been mentioned, are great princes, and are all Mussulmans, and possessed of formidable armies. The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijnager. Another is the Rana Sanka. His original principality was Chîtûr. During the confusions that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized on a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpûr (Rantampore), Sarangpûr, Bhilsân, and Chanderi.....There were a number of other rais and rajahs on the borders and within the territory of Hindustân, many of whom, on account of their remoteness or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Mussulman kings.

"The country and towns of Hindustân are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places, the plain is covered with a thorny brushwood to such a degree, that the people of the *pergannas*, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustân, if you except the rivers, there is little running water. Now and then, some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks, in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustân, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have

been inhabited for a series of years, (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight,) in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population. And if, on the other hand, they intend to settle on any particular spot, as they do not need to run water-courses, or to build flood-mounds, their crops being produced without irrigation, and the population of Hindustân being unlimited, inhabitants swarm in in every direction. They make a tank, or dig a well. There is no need of building a strong house or erecting a firm wall: they have abundance of strong grass and plenty of timber, of which they run up hovels, and a village or town is constructed in an instant.*

"Hindustân is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, or of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good

* This will explain the sudden resurrection of cities and capitals after their complete destruction; an event of such frequent occurrence in oriental history. The following passage from Col. Wilks's Historical Sketches of the South of India, will throw further light upon the subject. "On the approach of a hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects; and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age, (the infant children being carried by their mothers,) with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond

horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons,* no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle or torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows called *deûtis*, who held in their left hand a kind of small tripod, and in their right hand a gourd to supply it with oil. Besides their rivers and standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows: they have no aqueducts or canals in their gardens or palaces. In their buildings, they study neither elegance nor climate, appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and the lower classes all go about naked.

"The chief excellency of Hindustân is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate, during the rains, is very pleasant. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, insomuch that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is, that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season, you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. The coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses too suffer from not being substantially built.....The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustân is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable. For any work or employment, there is always a set ready, to

the time for which they have provided food, a large proportion of them necessarily die of hunger."—WILKS, vol. i. p. 309, *note*.

* Grapes and musk-melons, particularly the latter, are now common all over India.

whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.

"The countries from Behreh to Behâr, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two *krors* (about 1,900,000*l.* sterling). Of this amount, *pergannas* to the value of eight or nine *krors*, are in the possession of some rais and rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these *pergannas* for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience." *

. The opinions which Baber here expresses regarding India, were so fully participated by most of his boys and principal men, that they now clamoured to be led back to Caubul, and even began to make preparations for their return. There was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between Baber's people and the natives, both peasantry and soldiers. The Patans, who were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, refused to submit, and appeared everywhere in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in the several provinces. Even the peasantry about Agra avoided and fled from his men, and, cutting off his foraging parties, rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or to supply his troops with provisions. The roads became impassable. Add to this, when Baber entered Agra, it was the hot season; and the heats, that year, were uncommonly oppressive, insomuch that a great many Moguls, not being

* Erskine's Baber, pp. 310—324. A very minute and curious account is given by the royal Author, of the natural history and vegetable productions of India, which will be found of great value to the naturalist. It appears that the wild elephant was then found in districts where it is now unknown; a proof that the improvement of the country has been considerable since Baber's time.

accustomed to such a climate, dropped down as if they had been smitten by the simoom, and expired on the spot. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the discontent became general and alarming. Baber had, however, formed his resolution not to suffer his brilliant conquest to be wrested from him but by death alone. Summoning all his beys to a council, he told them, that he should consider no one as his friend, who should henceforward make a proposal to retreat; but that if any of them could not bring themselves to stay, they were at liberty to depart. The only one who accepted this proposal, was Khwâjeh Kilân, whom Baber appointed to the government of Ghizni and Caubul.*

When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor, Timour, had done, several omrahs, willing to be first in favour, began to come over to him. In the eastern provinces, the Patan omrahs were in considerable force, and having crossed the Ganges, had advanced beyond Kanouje. Baber sent an army against them under his son Humâiun, at whose approach the rebels fell back and dispersed without coming to action. Leaving a garrison in Jionpore, Humâiun now hastened back to rejoin his father, who was preparing to take the field against the infidels. Rana Sanka, after taking the fort of Kandar in Ajmeer, had pushed on as far as Biâna, on his march towards Agra; and had even defeated a detachment of Baber's vanguard, which

* Ferishta tells us, that "Chaja Callân was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health." Baber says nothing of his illness, but states, that being heartily tired of Hindustan, he had the effrontery to leave the following verses in Turki, on the walls of some houses in Delhi:

"If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind."

struck unusual terror in the king's small army. Nor was the alarm wholly unreasonable. The Emperor himself appears to have felt that his situation was highly critical; and at no period had he had to contend against a powerful enemy under so great disadvantages. In alliance with the brave Rajpoot leader, were several Patan omrahs, together with Mahmoud, the son of the Emperor Secunder, whose pretensions to the throne alone rendered him formidable; but the united force exceeded a hundred thousand men. Baber confesses, that he had no great reliance upon the men of Hindustan who were in his interest; and the panic spread in his army by the bold and unexpected advance of the Pagans, joined to the repulse of his troops at Biâna, was greatly augmented by the sinister and ill-timed prediction of a rascally astrologer. "Instead of giving me any assistance," says the Emperor, "that evil-minded wretch loudly proclaimed to every person whom he met in the camp, that at this time Mars was in the west, and that whoever should engage, coming from the opposite quarter, would be defeated. The courage of such as consulted this villanous soothsayer, was consequently still further depressed." Ferishta tells us, that, in a council of war, the greater part of the officers concurred in advising a retreat to the Punjaub, leaving a strong garrison only in Agra. Baber at length broke silence, and appealing to them as soldiers and true believers, set before them, how much better it was to die with honour, than to live with infamy.* Should they fall in the field, they would die the death of martyrs; and should they survive, they would rise

* In this highly characteristic oration, given in his Memoirs, Baber cited, from the Shah-nâmeh, the admired couplet:

"With fame, even if I die, I am contented:
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's."

victorious. He therefore proposed, that they should all bind themselves by a solemn oath on the Koran, not even to think of turning their face from this warfare, or to desert the field, till the soul should be separated from the body. "Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation seizing the Koran, swore," says Baber, "in the form that I had given. My plan had succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe."

In thus summoning to his aid the counter-spell of religious fanaticism, Baber availed himself of the only master principle that could have overpowered the effects of superstition acting upon fear. Perhaps it was the only principle that could have sustained his own mind; and what may be regarded as the weakness of his character, now constituted his strength. There is no reason to doubt that the enthusiast was blended with the politician. On the day preceding the council, he was seriously struck, he says, in the course of his ride to survey his posts, with the reflection, that he had always resolved one time or another to make an effectual repentance, by renouncing all forbidden works; and he now made a solemn vow never more to drink wine. Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, he ordered them to be broken to pieces, and the fragments to be divided among dervishes and the poor. That night and the following, numbers of ameers and courtiers, soldiers and others, to the number of three hundred, made vows of similar reformation. Baber had, previously, made a vow, that, in case of gaining the victory over Rana Sanka, he would remit the *temgha* (stamp-tax) levied from Mussulmans; and being now reminded of his promise, he directed it to be formally announced in an imperial firmaun. By this

step, he prepared the minds of his followers for the appeal made to their enthusiasm.

The danger and confusion were now at their height. The forts of Râberi, Chandwar, and Koel in the Doâb, had been taken by different detachments of the enemy; the governor of Sambal had evacuated that place, and rejoined Baber; Gwalior was blockaded by the Pagans, and many Hindustanis began to desert. "Without minding the fugitives," says the Emperor, "we continued to regard only our own force. I advanced my guns and tripods that moved on wheels, with all the apparatus and machines which I had prepared,* and marched forward with my army, regularly drawn up and divided into right and left wing and centre, in battle order. I set forward in front the guns and tripods placed on wheel-carriages. Behind them was stationed a body of matchlock-men, to prevent the communication between the artillery and the infantry from being cut off. After the ranks were formed, I galloped along the line, animating the Begs and troops of the centre, right, and left; giving each division special instructions how they were to act, and to every man orders how to conduct himself, and in what manner he was to engage. Having made these arrangements, I ordered the army to move on in order of battle for about a *koss*, when we halted to encamp. The Pagans, on getting notice of our motions, were on the alert;

* Mustafa Rûmi had disposed the guns "according to the Rûmi (Ottoman) fashion." The tripods were a sort of moveable breast-work, consisting of bull's hides twisted into ropes, and attached to wooden frames. Their design was to reassure the troops, and add to the apparent strength of their position. Baber, evidently, did not place much confidence in their intrinsic strength. Twenty or twenty-five days were occupied in the construction of these machines. Dow speaks of rockets as forming part of Baber's artillery.

and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns and ditch. After our army had encamped, and when we had strengthened and fortified our position in front, as I did not intend fighting that day, I pushed on a few of our troops to skirmish with a party of the enemy, by way of taking an omen. They took a number of Pagans, and cut off their heads, which they brought away. This incident raised the spirits of our army excessively, and had a wonderful effect in giving them confidence in themselves."

On Saturday, March 16 (1527), having dragged forward the guns, the army advanced to the village of Kava, and took up a position previously entrenched. While occupied in pitching the tents, tidings were brought that the enemy was in sight. In a few minutes Baber had formed his line in the manner previously arranged and practised, and was ready for the encounter. The army was chiefly drawn up, Ferishta says, by Nizam Khalifa, Baber's ablest general; and the order of battle is thus described.

"The line, which, upon this occasion, was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life-guards in the centre, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the king placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery* were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and centre. The brigade immediately to the right of the centre, was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe and

* Dow says, "the artillery and rocket-waggons." The "tripods" already described must be what Ferishta refers to. The guns also were chained together, so as to form a barrier against the enemy's cavalry.

the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the centre was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the Emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by Prince Humâioon; and of these, the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim, Hussein, and other chiefs of family, and experience in war. The left hand battalion of Prince Humâioon's division, was made up of the troops of Seid-Amir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race. The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Khaja.

"About ten o'clock, A.M., the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in, hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Mallek Casim, and made them give ground. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took up their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light-horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the king, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this position, he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans, till three o'clock; Alla Kouli, of Rûmi, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them. Baber, finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, now determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of

the brigades of Timur and Allum, and charging them like a lion rushing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance, put their whole army to flight.

"The king, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of *Ghazi* (victorious); and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built on an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lak of rupees, and banished from the kingdom."*

This was the last engagement on a large scale, in which Baber commanded. He wished to pursue the Pagans into their own country; but this plan he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the want of water on the road, and the excessive heat of the season. After reducing the country of Mewât, Baber returned to Agra, and disbanded his army for the rainy season. Early in the following year (1528), he undertook an expedition against Chânderi, a strong hill-fort, in which a Rajpoot chief had shut himself up with a garrison of five thousand men. It was taken by escalade. When the Hindoos found that they could no longer defend it against their enemy, they, "according to their dreadful custom," put to death their wives and children. Then, "throwing a yellow powder over their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, they issued forth with

* Dow, ii. 112—114. In Baber's Memoirs, the *gazette* account of this victory, composed by Sheikh Zein, is given at length; and "nothing," Mr. Erskine remarks, "can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly, and intelligent style of Baber himself, than the pompous, laboured periods of his secretary."

their swords and shields, and sought after that death which they all obtained."*

Advices were about this time received, that a detachment sent against the Patan chiefs of the Lodi tribes, who were still in arms in the Eastern provinces, had been defeated. Baber immediately marched in person to Kanouje, and having thrown a bridge of boats across the Ganges, passed that river in pursuit of the enemy, who, after a faint resistance, took to flight. In the following year, Sultan Mahmood Lodi again took the field, and possessed himself of Bahar. Baber advanced as far as Kurrah, on the Ganges, where Sultan Jilâleddin, of the Purab dynasty of Patans, prepared a grand entertainment for his imperial guest. Again Mahmoud's army was broken up at his approach. Baber afterwards made an extensive circuit through Bahar and Oude, and after receiving the submission of these provinces, and an embassy of peace from the Bengalese, once more returned to his capital. A few months after (Sept. 1529), his own Journal abruptly terminates. Whether he composed memoirs of the remaining fifteen months of his life, is uncertain. The state of his health, which was now rapidly declining, probably diminished his usual activity. Hûmâiûn, anxious, apparently, to be near the seat of empire, left his government of Badakshan in the charge of his brother, and set out for Agra; where, though he was neither sent for nor expected, the affections of his father and the influence of his mother procured him a good reception. After remaining for some time at court, he went to his govern-

* Dow, ii. 115. Baber describes them as rushing out in a state of complete nudity, and engaging his troops with ungovernable desperation.

ment at Sambal, where, about six months after, he fell dangerously ill. Baber, deeply affected at the tidings, gave directions that he should be conveyed to Agra by water, where he safely arrived, but his life was despaired of. The sequel, as given by the Mohammedan historians, is too extraordinary to be omitted.

"When all hopes from medicine were over, and while several men of skill were talking to the Emperor of the melancholy situation of his son, Abul Baka, a personage highly venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Baber, that in such a case, the Almighty had sometimes vouchsafed to receive the most valuable thing possessed by one friend, as an offering in exchange for the life of another. Baber, exclaiming that, of all things, his life was dearest to Hûmâiûn, as Hûmâiûn's was to him, and that, next to the life of Hûmâiûn, his own was what he most valued, devoted his life to heaven as a sacrifice for his son's. The noblemen around him entreated him to retract the rash vow, and, in place of the first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, and reckoned the most valuable on earth; (urging,) that the ancient sages had said, that it was the dearest of our worldly possessions alone, that was to be offered to heaven. But he persisted in his resolution, declaring that no stone, of whatever value, could be put in competition with his life. He three times walked round the dying prince; a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices and heave-offerings; * and retiring, prayed earnestly to God. After some time, he was heard to

* "It is customary among the Musulmans, as it was among the Jews, to waive presents of money or jewels thrice round the head of the person to whom they are offered, on particular occasions, as on betrothings, marriages, &c. There is supposed to be something sacred in this rite, which averts misfortune."

exclaim, 'I have borne it away! I have borne it away!' The Mussulman historians assure us, that Hûmâiûn almost immediately began to recover, and that, in proportion as he recovered, the health and strength of Baber visibly decayed. .....With that unvarying affection for his family which he shewed in all the circumstances of his life, he strongly besought Hûmâiûn to be kind and forgiving to his brothers. Hûmâiûn promised, and, what in such circumstances is rare, kept his promise." * Baber expired at the Charbagh palace, near Agra, Dec. 26, 1530, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign as a sovereign prince. He had reigned over part of Hindustan five years. His remains were, in conformity to his own wish, carried to Caubul, and interred in a hill that still bears his name. His character is thus summed up by Mr. Erskine, the accomplished Editor of the Memoirs.

" Zahîr-ed-dîn Muhammed Baber was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm, and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received

* Erskine's Mem. of Baber, p. 427.

their full development. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve; and before he had attained his twentieth year, the young prince had shared every variety of fortune. He had not only been the ruler of subject provinces, but had been in thraldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart. He had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of his own native kingdom as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him the strong feelings of an affection for his early friends and early enjoyments, rarely seen among princes. Perhaps the free manners of the Tûrki tribes had combined with the events of his early life, in cherishing these amiable feelings. He had betimes been taught, by the voice of events that could not lie, that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in dangers and escapes with his followers, had learned that he was only one of an association, whose general safety and success depended on the result of their mutual exertions in a common cause. The native benevolence and gayety of his disposition seems ever to overflow on all around him; and he talks of his mothers, his grandmothers, and sisters with some garrulity indeed, but the garrulity of a good son and a good brother. Of his companions in arms, he always speaks with the frank gayety of a soldier; and it is a relief to the reader, in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood. Indeed, an uncommon portion of good nature and good humour runs through all his character; and, even to political

offences, he will be found, in a remarkable degree, indulgent and forgiving.

"In the character of the founder of a new dynasty in one of the richest and most powerful empires on earth, we may expect to find a union of the great qualities of a statesman and a general; and Baber possessed the leading qualifications of both in a high degree. But we are not, in that age, to look for any deeply-laid or regular plans of civil polity, even in the most accomplished princes. Baber's superiority over the chiefs to whom he was opposed, arose chiefly from his active disposition and lively good sense. Ambitious as he was, and fond of conquest and of glory in all its shapes, the enterprise in which he was for the season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it, whatever it was, to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture; and few princes who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous or decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life; but it may be doubted, whether, in spite of his final success, he was so much entitled to the character of a great captain as of a successful partisan, and a bold adventurer. In the earlier part of his career, his armies were very small. Most of his expeditions were rather successful inroads, than skilful campaigns. But he shewed a genius and a power of observation, which, in other circumstances, would have raised him to the rank of the most accomplished commanders. As he had the sense to perceive the errors which he committed in his earlier years, so, with the superiority that belongs to a great mind, conscious of its powers, he always readily acknowledges them. His conduct during the rebellion of the Moguls at Kâbul, and the

alarm of his army in the war with Rana Sanka, bears the indications of the most heroic magnanimity. The latter period of his life is one uninterrupted series of success.

"But we are not to expect in Baber, that perfect and refined character which belongs only to modern times and Christian countries. We sometimes see him order what, according to the practice of modern war, and the maxims of a refined morality, we should consider as cruel executions. We find him occasionally the slave of vices which, even though they belonged to his age and country, it is not possible to regard in such a man without feelings of regret. We are disappointed to find one possessed of so refined an understanding and so polished a taste, degrading both, by an obtrusive and almost ridiculous display of his propensity to intoxication. It may palliate, though it cannot excuse this offence, that it appears to have led him to no cruelty or harshness to his servants or those around him; that it made him neglect no business, and that it seems to have been produced solely by the ebullition of high spirits in his gay and social temper. We turn from Baber, the slave of such vices, which, probably, hastened on a premature old age, and tended to bring him to an early grave, and view him with more complacency, encouraging in his dominions the useful arts and polite literature, by his countenance and his example. We delight to see him describe his success in rearing a new plant, in introducing a new fruit-tree, or in repairing a decayed aqueduct, with the same pride and complacency that he relates his most splendid victories. No region of art or nature seems to have escaped the activity of his research. He had cultivated the art of poetry from his early years; and his *Diwan*, or collection of Tûrki poems, is men-

tioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his country. He also wrote a work on Prosody and some smaller productions, which he sometimes alludes to in his memoirs. He was skilful in the science of music, on which he wrote a treatise. But his most remarkable work is, undoubtedly, the memoirs of his own life. No history, perhaps, contains so lively a picture of the life and opinions of an eastern prince.

"A striking feature in Baber's character is, his unlikeness to other Asiatic princes. Instead of the stately, systematic, artificial character that seems to belong to the throne in Asia, we find him natural, lively, affectionate, simple; retaining on the throne all the best feelings and affections of common life. Change a few circumstances arising from his religion and country, and, in reading the transactions of his life, we might imagine that we had got among the adventurous knights of Froissart. This, as well as the simplicity of his language, he owed to his being a Türk. That style which wraps up a worthless meaning in a mist of words, and the etiquette which annihilates the courtier in the presence of his prince, were still, fortunately for Baber, foreign to the Türki race, among whom he was born and educated.*

"Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Baber in genius and accomplishments. His grandson, Akber, may, per-

* Baber, though his family were of Mogul origin, always speaks of himself as being a Türk; all his affections were with the Türks, whose language and manners were hereditary to him; and he often speaks of the Moguls with mingled hatred and contempt. Yet, through that loose application of the words Mogul and Tatar, which has become so general, the dynasty which he founded in India, is known as the Mogul dynasty; and even Ferishta speaks of his having written his Commentaries in the Mogul language.

haps, be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurungzib is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Chengiz Khan, and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid conquests, which far excelled the achievements of Baber. But, in activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, so seldom the portion of princes, in his love of letters, and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him." *

Through the influence of Khalifeh, Baber's prime-minister, who possessed the chief authority among the Tûrki nobles, Hûmaioon ascended the throne without opposition; but he was soon called to defend it against powerful insurgents and domestic competitors. The designs of his brother Kamirân on the Punjaub were turned aside, by bestowing upon him the government of all the provinces from the most southern branch of the Indus to Persia. Sultan Mahmood, who again seized upon Jionpore, was defeated and put to flight. A still more formidable enemy then took the field, Bahadur, "king of Gujerat," over whom also Humaioon's good fortune prevailed; but while engaged in the complete reduction of that province, news was brought that Shere Khan, the Patan governor of Bahar, had declared his independence. While engaged in putting down this formidable insurrection, Hûmaioon was basely deserted by his two brothers, Hindal and Kamirân, who took that opportunity to endeavour, severally, to seize the throne. The Emperor, whose conduct towards his ungenerous brothers,

* Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, pp. 429—432.

appears to have been singularly exemplary, endeavoured in vain to bring about a coalition of interests against their common enemy, by representing that their family quarrels would certainly issue in the loss of that mighty empire which it had cost their father so much pains to conquer. The result was, that the house of Baber, thus divided, fell. In 1541, Sheer Khan succeeded in driving Humaioon and his brothers from the empire, and took possession of the throne. Humaioon, after being reduced to the greatest extremities and perils, through the treachery of his adherents,* made his escape to the court of Persia, where Shah Tamasp gave the royal fugitive a generous reception; and by his powerful aid, in 1545, Humâioon recovered Caubul from his brother Kamirân. That restless and unprincipled prince, though repeatedly pardoned by Humaioon, never gave up the contest, till he was deprived of his eyes. He died a pilgrim at Mecca.†

Shere, the Afghan conqueror, did not long enjoy the throne, for which he was indebted as much to his perfidy as to his valour. He was killed while besieging Chitore in 1545, and was buried at Saseram in

* His flight and sojourn among the Rajpoot princes of Ajimeer, Major Rennell remarks, "furnish a striking picture of royal distress." The generous fidelity of the rajah of Amercote to his fallen sovereign, deserves to be recorded for the honour of his nation. While at Amercote, "the prince Akbar was brought forth by the Sultana Hamida."

† The Mogul chiefs, to a man, Ferishta says, insisted upon the necessity of his being put to death, and Humaioon was threatened with an insurrection for refusing to imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother. With reluctance he gave orders for his being deprived of sight by means of antimony; and on subsequently visiting the unhappy prince, he is stated to have wept very bitterly, while Kamirân confessed the justice of his punishment. Hindal fell in action.

Bahar, his original estate, in a magnificent mausoleum which he had constructed during his lifetime in the middle of an artificial lake. At his death, his empire extended from Bengal to the Indus. He left many monuments of his magnificence. "From Bengal and Sennargaum to that branch of the Indus called the Nilah, which is 1500 *krores* (about 3000 miles), he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every *krore*. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and priests. He ordered that, at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit-trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Horse-posts were placed at proper distances for forwarding quick intelligence to Government, and for the advantages of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. Shere divided his time into four equal parts: one he appropriated to the distribution of public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation." According to Ferishta's account, the character of this monarch would have left little to wish for, had he not stained his honour by a repeated breach of faith; and had he won the throne by fairer means, the only matter of regret would have been, that he obtained it "in the evening," when his beard was already turning white.

Selim (Islam Shah) succeeded his father. He maintained his throne against his enemies, and emulated the magnificence of his predecessor.* He died in 1552, after a reign of nine years. His son Feroze, in his twelfth year, was then placed upon the throne; but, after three days, was assassinated by his uncle Mubarik, who assumed the title of Mohammed Adil. This worthless usurper was expelled by his cousin Ibrahim III., who was, in his turn, compelled to surrender his throne to a nephew of the Emperor Shere, Secunder Shah. This period of general anarchy and confusion terminated in the victorious return of Humaioon, who, invited by a strong party to take advantage of the divisions among the Patan omrahs, met with little resistance in repossessing himself of the empire of his father. He died in consequence of a fall, in the following year, at the age of forty-eight; but his return was a fortunate circumstance for the country, as it was the means of seating his illustrious son quietly on the throne of Agra.†

Akbar was only in his fourteenth year, when, on his father's death, in 1556, he commenced a splendid

* Ferishta states, that, "from Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate seral between each of those which his father had erected on the great road." In this reign, an impostor made some noise in the assumed character of Imaum Mehdi, whose second coming is looked for by a numerous division of Moslems. He converted some thousands, and, after being twice banished by Selim, was scourged to death at Agra, A.D. 1547.

† In this brief account of the reign of Humaioon, we have adhered to Dow, except as to the age at which he died, which is given on the authority of Major Price. The last volume of his valuable work, which is brought down only to the accession of Akbar, contains a detailed account (from Abûl Fazzel) of the singular vicissitudes in the life of Humaioon, whose mild and benevolent character, and love of science, give interest to his misfortunes. He was buried at Delhi. Akbar ascended the throne Feb. 14, 1556, and died Oct. 12, 1605.

and busy reign of nearly fifty years. His titles were, Shah Jumja Abûl Muzzisser, Jellâl-uddeen, Mahommed Akbar, Padishâ Ghazi. The celebrated Abul Fazzel, "the most elegant writer of India," has given to the world the history of this renowned monarch in three volumes, called *Akbar-nameh*. A very brief notice of the principal events, is all that our purpose requires. The first years of Akbar's reign were employed in the reduction of the revolted provinces; in which the regent Byram, who had a great share in recovering the empire for Humaioon, was a principal actor. Himû, the vizier of Mahommed, the Patan emperor of the eastern provinces, had succeeded in taking Agra and Delhi; and of all his Indian dominions, the provinces towards the heads of the Indus alone were left to Akbar, when, in the plains of Paniput, the Patans were defeated by Byram at the head of a much inferior force; and Himû being slain, the empire reverted to its previous tranquillity. The violence and presumption of Byram at length occasioned a breach between him and Akbar; and the all-powerful minister made a feeble effort at rebellion, for which he obtained the pardon of his grateful sovereign, but met his death on his way to Mecca, from the hand of a man whose father he had slain. This took place in 1560.

Akbar now took the reins of government into his own hands, and by his judicious choice of governors, his wise regulations, and his tolerant policy, he secured the permanence of his conquests. The Hindoos still formed the bulk of the population, even in those provinces which had been the most frequently overrun by their conquerors; and experience had taught the Mohammedan sovereigns, that the passive temper of the infidels would prevent them, if left to themselves, from disturbing the government. The

recovery of the Deccan provinces, however, was an object which deeply concerned the honour of the Emperor; and Akbar resolved on carrying his arms into that quarter. In 1563, he had marched to Oojein, to chastise the insubordination of the Uzbeg governor of Malwah; and while in that city, Mubarik, King of Khandeish, paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. That part of the Deccan, therefore, had, at this period, a Mohammedan sovereign. In the province of Gundwana, however, it seems, there existed a small, independent kingdom, which had for its capital Gurrah, and which had never yet fallen under the dominion of foreign invaders. The sovereign, at this time, was a queen celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, and her flourishing country was in perfect peace.* Tempted by the report of the unplundered wealth which it contained, Asaph, the governor of Kurrah in Malwah, after having made several predatory inroads, obtained permission of Akbar to subdue the country. Having raised 6000 horse and about double that number of infantry, he marched against the unoffending natives, but was met by the royal amazon at the head of a powerful army, including 1500 elephants; from whom he received a severe repulse, 600 Mogul horsemen being left on the field. In a second battle, the valorous queen was severely wounded; and when she found that the day was lost, and that she must be taken prisoner, she plunged her dagger into her bosom. Asaph now laid siege to the royal fort, where

* Her dominions are stated to have been about 300 miles in length, and 100 in breadth, and to have comprised 70,000 towns and villages! Dow calls it "the country of Gurrah or Kattuc, now part of Orissa and Bundelcund;" but it seems to have been rather the Gurrah district of Gundwana.

all the treasures of the reigning family had been for ten generations deposited. It was taken by storm, and the unfortunate garrison had recourse to the barbarous custom of the *joar*,—the general massacre of their wives and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The spoil was immense; and Asaph, to secure his plunder, took up his residence in the country, transmitting to Akbar only 200 elephants, and no part of the treasure; but he was ultimately compelled to account for it.

Akbar was unable to follow up this conquest, owing to the constant field furnished for his military enterprise by insurrectionary movements in Gujerat and Bengal, and the turbulence of the Rajpoots of Ajmeer. At the time of his death, no further progress had been made in the reduction of the Deccan, than taking possession of the western part of Berar, Khandeish, Tellingana, and the northern part of Ahmednuggar, the capital of which was taken in 1601, after a long and bloody siege. These acquisitions, the government of which, as a distinct province, Akbar conferred upon his son, were deemed of sufficient consequence to be annexed to the imperial titles, in a proclamation, on the Emperor's triumphant return to Agra. Cashmeer also was reduced in this reign, the civil dissensions raging among the chieftains of that country rendering it an easy conquest.

In the year 1603, Prince Danial, Akbar's favourite son, was carried off by a debauch at Burhampoor in the Deccan. His death, and the manner of it, so much affected the Emperor, who was in a declining state of health, that from that moment he became rapidly worse; and he died in the following year, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

"Hindostan Proper had never," Major Rennell

remarks, experienced so much tranquillity as during the latter part of Akbar's reign; but this tranquillity could hardly be deemed such in any other quarter of the world, and must, therefore, be understood to mean a state short of actual rebellion, or, at least, commotion." While his sons were employed in carrying on the wars on the frontiers, the Emperor himself, with his learned minister, the celebrated Abul Fazzel, was employed in regulating the internal management and economy of his kingdom. Inquiries were set on foot, by means of which the revenue, population, produce, religion, arts, and commerce of each district were ascertained; and the results were embodied in the work known under the title of *Ayeen Akbery*, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akber.* The empire was at this time distributed into *soubahs* (governments or viceroyalties) which were divided into *circars* (provinces), and these again were subdivided into *pergunnahs* (districts or hundreds). The names of the original soubahs were, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Ahmedabad (or Gujerat), Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul (and Cashmeer), Lahore, Moultan, and Malwah; to which were afterwards added, the conquered territories of Berar, Khandeish, and Ahmednagur; forming altogether fifteen.†

After Akbar had ascertained the condition, wants, and resources of the several provinces of his vast empire, he applied himself most diligently and wisely

* Translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin, esq., 2 vols. 4to. London, 1800. The *Ayeen Akbery* forms the third volume of the *Akber-namah*.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 1. Dow makes them twenty-two; adding to the enumeration, Kandahar, Ghizni, and Cashmere (included by Abul Fazzel in Caubul), Outch, Sinde, Sirhind, Doab, and Orissa. He omits Ahmednagur. See vol. iii. p. 3.

to their improvement. Schools were established, in which both the Indian and Arabic languages and sciences were taught. Translations of works, both of instruction and taste, were made at his express desire, and under the direction and superintendence of Abul Fazzel. Under his mild and equitable government, agriculture flourished, commerce revived, the arts prospered, and his subjects enjoyed the fruits of their increased industry, free from those apprehensions of insecurity to which they had been so long exposed. Akbar participated in the prosperity of his people. His regular annual revenue amounted to nearly 30,000,000*l.* sterling; and from sources less regular and permanent, he frequently derived, in the course of the year, about twenty millions more. His armies were not less remarkable for their numerical strength, than for their excellent equipment and discipline. They consisted of about 300,000 horse, and an equal number of foot. They were composed principally of detached tribes under independent chiefs; and, from this circumstance, it required all his vigilance and rigour to prevent rebellions and insurrections from being much more frequent and dangerous than they actually were.

The character of Akbar is thus summed up by the pen of Ferishta. "Mahommed Akbar was a prince endued with many shining virtues. His generosity was great, and his clemency without bounds. This latter virtue he often carried beyond the line of prudence, and, in many instances, past the limits of that justice which he owed to the state; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition, and not from an effeminate weakness of mind. His character as a warrior was that of an intrepid partisan, rather than of a great general: he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and

often attempted capital points without using that power which at the time he possessed. But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar: he brought about at once, by desperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide, that Hindostan, ever subject to the convulsions of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall of disciplined valour against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his omrahs with enterprise.

"He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valour. He encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is, in truth, the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse. In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man. His name lives, and will for ever live, the glory of the house of Timur, and an example of renown to the kings of the world."*

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim, the next to Prince Danial in right of primogeniture, ascended the throne, under the title of Nefr-ed-deen Mahommed Jehanghire (lord or conqueror of the world). "Scarcely was he seated on the throne, when his nephew, Khosrou, engaged in open rebellion. To this step he seems to have been led by the advice and intrigues of the nobility, rather than by his own wishes or judgement. The rebellion, however, was soon quelled,

* Dow, vol. ii. p. 274, 5.

and Khosrou thrown into prison. As soon as Jehanghire had restored internal tranquillity to his kingdom, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of the Deccan. He seems, however, from some cause not very apparent, to have pursued this object with little perseverance or zeal. War was also made on the Rajpoots, and the Rana, or chief prince, was compelled to sue for peace, on terms most favourable to the Emperor.

"Jehanghire was a man of talents, and would have proved himself such by his conduct, had not his councils been rendered vacillating and weak, and his government been constrained, by the influence of his mistress Noor-jean. She was the daughter of Aiaas, a Tatar, and was born in the wilderness, to which the poverty of her father had obliged him to flee. Aiaas afterwards came to the court of Jehanghire, and being a man of considerable abilities and of probity, he was soon noticed and patronized. His daughter was educated with the greatest attention and care, and she soon became one of the most accomplished women in Asia. As she was also greatly distinguished for her beauty and her wit, she was not long in attracting the particular notice, and exciting the warm affections, of the young prince Selim. He requested his father, Akbar, to demand her in marriage for him; but as she was betrothed to Shere Afghan, one of the most accomplished and bravest nobles in India, Akbar refused to interfere. Selim therefore was obliged to wait till he ascended the throne, when, his passion still being as ardent as before, he resolved, by whatever means, to gratify it. Noor-jean was by this time married; but this circumstance possessed no weight in the mind of the new sovereign. He caused

her husband to be assassinated, and the widow to be conducted to the royal zenana. She soon proved that she did not bear implacable resentment against the murderer of her husband, and that ambition was more powerful in her breast than affection. She became the queen of Jehanghire; and shortly afterwards, her influence over him became almost without limits. Her father and brothers were raised to the first offices in the empire; and her relations, to the most remote degree, came from Tatary to the Mogul court, where she heaped upon them wealth, rank, and power.

"In one respect, however, her influence and the situation to which she was raised, were beneficial not only to the Emperor, but also to the kingdom at large. Her father was appointed prime-minister; and as his talents and his probity remained unimpaired, he did great service to the state. Under the name of Actemad-ul-Dowlah, he exercised the office of prime-minister till his death, in such a manner that his name is to this day revered by the people of Hindostan. The principles upon which he administered the government, were similar to those upon which Akbar had conducted it. He regarded the industry of the people, not only as the sole source of wealth and prosperity, but also as the surest defence againt foreign foes, and the best preservative of internal quiet. Forests were cut down, and towns and villages were built; manufactures flourished under his auspices; but it was to the improvement of agriculture that he especially directed his attention and his measures. Those provinces which, during war, had been desolated, were repeopled and cultivated. Religious persecution was unknown: the Hindoo and the Mahommedan were equally the objects of his care, and placed equally under the protection of the laws.

" It was in this reign that Sir Thomas Roe was sent as the first English ambassador to the Emperor of Hindostan. He presented a coach to Jehanghire from James I.; and, in spite of the opposition of the Prince Royal, obtained the object of his mission, which was permission to establish a factory at Surat. The Portuguese had by this time acquired considerable settlements both in Bengal and in Gujerat; but only those at Gujerat, where they possessed some extent of territory, had attracted the notice of the court. It is curious to observe, in what terms the Author of the *Ayeen Akbaree* mentions them. Speaking of the lands of Gujerat, he says; 'By the *neglect* of the king's governors, several of these districts are in the hands of Europeans.' Ferishta also, mentioning the site of an ancient Hindoo temple near Diu, says, that it was situated in the districts that were subject to the 'idolaters of Europe.'

" The rebellions of his son, Shah Jehan, embittered the latter part of Jehanghire's reign. These rebellions were sometimes fostered and strengthened by the nobles, whose martial habits rendered a life of peace irksome to them, and sometimes excited by the intrigues of the empress.

" Jehanghire died in 1628. At the time of his death, he was on a journey to Cashmere, in the cool and beautiful valleys of which he was accustomed to reside during the sultry months of summer. This monarch had the character of being a Deist, because he protected the followers of Brahma and Zoroaster, and even tolerated Christians as well as Mahommedans. He was most rigorous in administering justice, punishing even those he loved, without regard

to rank, station, or office. He was completely free from avarice; and his disposition was forgiving. In private, his temper was capricious; so much so, indeed, as to bear occasionally the character of insanity, with which malady his unfortunate son, Khosrou, was certainly afflicted. He was naturally indolent, and indulged much in wine and opium; but he was fond of literature, and has left a well-written life of himself. So well known and so well beloved was he, that he frequently left his palace in a simple habit, and mixed with the evening parties of every rank: his person was too well known to be disguised; but he never had reason to repent of his familiarity with his people.

"On the death of Jehanghire, the nobility resumed their intrigues, in the hopes of preventing the succession of his son, Shah Jehan; but as there were several parties among them, each having a different view, though all hostile to Shah Jehan, their schemes were defeated by their own want of concord. It is probable, however, that they might not have been defeated so soon or so easily, had not the Emperor received the valuable assistance of the talents of Asiph Jah. This person was the son of Aiaas, and consequently a brother of Noor-jean; but he was still more closely connected with the Emperor, by the latter having married his daughter. By means of this man, Shah Jehan was seated peaceably and firmly on the throne; and he at once rewarded his services, and secured the tranquillity and prosperity of his own kingdom, by raising him to the rank of vizier. As soon as the intrigues of the nobility were quelled, Shah Jehan caused the male descendants of Baber to be put to death; and, in order to make the people

forget this cruelty, he held a festival which surpassed in magnificence every thing of the kind that had ever been celebrated in the East.

"During the first years of his reign, Shah Jehan was prosperous and happy; his kingdom flourished; his conquests were extensive; and in his domestic concerns, there prevailed concord and affection. His father-in-law continued vizier till his death, which happened in his seventy-second year; and though his measures were sometimes despotic, yet they were generally wise and prudent, and productive of beneficial results. The empress was a woman of an amiable and gentle disposition, and of great virtue as well as beauty. She conducted herself with so much prudence and propriety, and with such strict and regular regard to her husband's wishes and views, that she obtained unlimited influence over him. During her life, he had no other wife; and when she died, he raised to her memory a beautiful tomb, of the finest marble, inlaid with precious stones, which cost 750,000*l.*

"The Mogul dominions were considerably enlarged during the reign of Shah Jehan. The conquest of the Deccan was pursued with great vigour, and the plunders and devastations perpetrated there, occasioned most of its princes to make submission and acknowledge the Emperor as their sovereign. The whole of Bengal was entirely subdued, and the states of Tibet and Assam were kept in awe; Candahar was recovered from the Persians; Cashmere was governed by a viceroy from Delhi; and Gujerat was reduced to obedience. Part of Golconda was actually taken possession of; but Bejapoor and the Carnatic, together with the region of the Ghauts, remained in the power of their ancient possessors. In the wars during which these conquests were achieved, Shah Jehan was

principally indebted for his success to his general Mohabet, to his son, Khan Ziman, and, on their death, to the military talents of his own sons. There were four of them, Dara; Sujah, Aurengzebe, and Morad. Their characters and talents were distinctly marked; and though, in some respects, they resembled one another, yet, in many material points, there were great and striking differences. Dara was undoubtedly most richly gifted by nature of all the sons, both in the qualities of his mind, and in the virtues of his heart. Like all the princes of the house of Baber, he was well versed in the learning of Persia and Arabia; and he caused himself to be instructed in the ancient learning of Hindostan by some Hindoo pundits, whom he liberally paid for that purpose. He was even anxious to acquire some insight into the literature and the customs of Europe; and in order to gratify his desire in this respect, he protected and encouraged the Jesuits, who had a college at Agra. In his temper, he was frank far beyond what the manners and habits of the East require or sanction; and his generosity was unbounded, and not always under the guidance of a discriminating prudence. In his person he was remarkably handsome, and his address was elegant and insinuating. Possessed of these qualifications, he was deservedly a favourite with almost all classes and descriptions of his father's subjects.

"Sujah, the second son, was distinguished for his prudence, which directed or restrained the openness of his temper and the generosity of his disposition, much more than Dara was inclined or could be induced to do; but his prudence, though a guard against the excess of these qualities, was but a feeble barrier, when the attainment of pleasure was Sujah's object: in this respect he was weak and unrestrained.

Both these sons were distinguished, and nearly in an equal degree, for their talents and success as warriors; but the third son, Aurengzebe, was superior to either of his brothers, in the politics, the skill, and the bravery which a state of warfare demands. As he was inferior to his brothers in the advantages of person and address, he endeavoured, and but too successfully, to compensate for these deficiencies by dissimulation and intrigue. Wrapt up within himself, though apparently open and artless, he threw his adversaries off their guard, and succeeded, at the same time, in concealing his own sentiments and plans, and in developing those of others. When it was necessary to gain over his opponents, or to make use of them as instruments in his own hands, he displayed wonderful powers of address, and exquisite knowledge of the weak parts of the human character. It is evident that a disposition and habits such as Aurengzebe possessed, aided by no mean talents, and by the happy and not common art of having these talents always at command, were capable of producing much good or much evil, according as they were directed. Unfortunately, ambition of no low standard, was the ruling passion of his heart; and this ambition he was resolved to gratify, without the smallest compunction of conscience regarding the measures, which it might prompt him to execute. But he well knew, that as he was not the eldest son, it would be indispensably necessary to keep his ambition concealed from every eye; he therefore affected the habits of a faquir, and used religion as a mask to cover his designs.

"The distinguishing features in the disposition of the fourth son, were violence and impatience, but they were not the violence and impatience

of a bad heart or of an unfeeling temper; they were constitutional, rather than the result of thoughtlessness or vice, and were accompanied, as is often the case, by a great share of openness and sincerity: in courage he surpassed all his brothers. Of the daughters of Shah Jehan, two only require particular notice. The eldest, Jehanara, resembled Dara, in almost every respect; and these two were, of all the Emperor's children, the most remarkable for filial piety and for mutual affection. Roshenara resembled her brother Aurengzebe in disposition; and this similarity induced her always to support his interest and plans as far as lay in her power.

"Shah Jehan, who had a clear insight into the characters of his sons, was very apprehensive that, on his death, disputes might arise among them. Partial to Dara, not more, perhaps, because he was the eldest, than on account of his excellent qualities, he made him the associate of his throne, and commanded respect to be paid to the signet of Dara, equal to that which was paid to his own. In order, however, that this might not rouse the jealousy of his brothers, he at the same time made Sujah governor of Bengal, Aurengzebe governor of the southern provinces, and Morad governor of Gujerat. But this very measure, in one respect, defeated the object which the Emperor had in contemplation; for Dara being necessarily near his father, while his brothers were at a distance, they were disposed to regard their appointments as given them, not so much to place them on a footing with Dara, as to remove them from the seat of government, and consequently to deprive them of the chance of contesting the throne with him, in the event of their father's death.

"As long as Shah Jehan continued in health and

vigour, the authority of Dara was not questioned by his brothers; but in the year 1657, the Emperor, having been seized with a stroke of the palsy, was obliged to give up the entire government to his eldest son. As soon as the other brothers heard of their father's illness, they immediately anticipated a fatal issue; and apprehending the destruction of their power as soon as Dara should ascend the throne, they each, without communicating with the other two, resolved to march with the utmost expedition to Delhi. The intelligence of the approach of Sujah first reached the seat of government; and as Dara did not deem it prudent to leave Delhi himself, he despatched his son to oppose Sujah. The hostile armies met near Benares; and a battle was fought, which terminated in the defeat of the invader, who retraced his steps into Bengal, for the purpose of raising new forces. But the danger with which Dara was surrounded, was very little lessened by this defeat. Sujah, from the position of his government, had been obliged to commence hostilities without aid from his brothers; but they had it in their power to unite their armies. This they actually did; Aurengzebe, on his march from the Deccan, being joined at Burhampoor by Morad, with his troops from Gujerat. While Aurengzebe possessed the government of the Deccan, his ambition had not been asleep; nor had it been unaided by those talents and habits which were so well calculated to attain its gratification in the most unsuspicious and certain manner. Meer Jumla, a man of low origin, but of an enterprising spirit, had raised himself to great power, and acquired immense wealth at the court of the princes of Golconda; but, in consequence of some affront which he received, he fled to Aurengzebe, bringing along with him all his treasures. To make this man his

friend, Aurengzebe was incited, not less by the consideration of his riches and forces, than of his abilities. Accordingly, he received him in the most kind and flattering manner, and soon gained such an ascendancy over him, that he found no difficulty in persuading him to join in the attempt to deprive Dara of the throne of Delhi.

"As the united forces of Aurengzebe, Morad, and Meer Jumla were very numerous, Dara resolved to oppose their progress by every means in his power. Accordingly, an army, under a general whom he could depend upon, was stationed on the banks of the Nerbuddah, to contest the passage of that river. But the attempt was in vain; the army of Dara was defeated, and Dara then deemed it necessary to advance in person against his enemies. The brothers met near Agra, and a battle ensued. The victory seemed doubtful for a considerable time, and turned in favour of the invaders only in consequence of an apparently trifling circumstance. Dara had occasion to dismount from his elephant; and the soldiers, no longer seeing him at his station, were panic-struck and fled. Aurengzebe and Morad thus gained a decided victory.

"The next object which Aurengzebe had in view, was the capture of his father and his brother Dara. To accomplish this, he marched without loss of time after the battle to Agra; and that city presenting the prospect of a resistance which he had not leisure or means to overcome, he had recourse to stratagem, and thus gained possession of it. His father consequently fell into his power; and he imprisoned him, with his daughter Jehanara, and the infant daughter of Dara, in the fortress. In the mean time, Dara had fled to Delhi; and against that city Aurengzebe now directed his march. Hitherto, he had succeeded in persuading

his brother Morad, that it was for his sake alone he was anxious to deprive their father and brother of the throne; and that the only reward he sought for himself, was a hermitage, in which he might spend the remainder of his life, at a distance from the cares and vanities of the world. But his real projects now became apparent, and Morad regarded him with suspicion and alarm. As Morad was the favourite of the troops, and had besides a great number of personal friends, Aurengzebe resolved to remove him; and this he did, not in his accustomed dark and crafty manner, but openly: having invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, he caused him to be seized and murdered. It does not appear that this most violent measure created any disturbance; for, after its perpetration, Aurengzebe immediately marched to Delhi. He did not, however, assume the sovereignty, without the mockery of appearing to have it forced upon him by the urgent representations and entreaties of his friends. As soon as he became emperor, he took the appellation of Alumghire, or conqueror of the world.

"When Sujah heard of the death of one of his brothers, of the defeat of the other, and of the successful enterprise of Aurengzebe, he collected a large army, and commenced his march towards Delhi. As he was now the only obstacle which stood between Aurengzebe and the entire and secure possession of the throne, the latter immediately made preparations to oppose him; and as soon as he had completed such measures as were necessary to keep Delhi quiet during his absence, he left that capital with a powerful army. The two brothers met at Kedjera, about thirty miles from Allahabad. The battle which ensued, was obstinate and bloody, but it terminated in the defeat of

Sujah. Yet, notwithstanding this defeat, Sujah was still a formidable opponent; and his further resistance was rendered peculiarly harassing to Aurengzebe, as well as dangerous, by the following circumstance. Mahomed, the son of the Emperor, was attached to one of the daughters of Sujah; and he was placed under the care of Meer Jumla, to whom was entrusted the pursuit of Sujah. As soon as the two armies approached each other, Mahomed took an opportunity to leave the camp of Meer Jumla, and to join his uncle. This circumstance rendered it the more necessary to bring Sujah to an engagement as speedily as possible. Accordingly, Meer Jumla attacked him at Tanda, a town in the province of Bengal, adjacent to the ruins of the ancient city of Gour, and again defeated him. Aurengzebe, as soon as he heard of the defection of his son, wrote him a letter, the object of which was, in a most artful manner, to rouse his suspicions of his uncle and father-in-law. This letter had the desired effect; and Sujah, perceiving that Mahomed was no longer happy with him, sent him off, along with his wife, and jewels to a large amount. With respect to himself, having no longer any chance of opposing Aurengzebe, or even of standing his ground in the plain country, he fled, after the battle of Tanda, to the mountains of Tipperah. Among these, and in the adjacent countries, he wandered almost forgotten for many years, till at length he was destroyed, together with the greater part of his family, by the Rajah of Arracan. Mahomed, as soon as he returned to his father, was thrown into prison, where he remained till his death.

"With respect to Dara, he was, if possible, still more unfortunate than either of his brothers. After wandering about in the deserts, he seems to have

taken refuge at length beyond the Indus, in the territories of Jihon Khan, a petty prince of Sinde. At first, he was hospitably received; but very shortly afterwards, he was perfidiously seized and sent to Delhi, where he was murdered by order of his brother." *

Aurungzebe dated the commencement of his reign from the 12th of May, 1659; and in the following year, he found himself in undisputed possession of his father's throne. From that time to the year 1678, there prevailed, throughout Hindostan, the most undisturbed tranquillity that had, perhaps, been known. The prudent management of Mahomed Mauzum, the second son of Aurungzebe, had prevented any disturbances in the Deccan during the civil war; and the people generally had suffered little. An exact discipline had been observed by the contending parties; and the damage done by the army, was paid out of the public treasury. Aurungzebe extinguished the spirit of party, by suppressing all appearance of revengeful feeling against those who had opposed his elevation. He converted his enemies into friends by loading them with favours; and by his just and politic administra-

* The preceding account of the reigns of Jehanghire and Shah Jehan, has been adopted, with slight corrections of the style, from the article INDIA, in Brewster's Encyclopedia. The compiler of that article does not name his authorities, but he appears to have followed Maurice, who refers us to Fraser's Mogul Emperors, Gladwin's Translation of the *Twozek Jehangery* (History of Jehanghire), and Bernier's Mogul Empire. To these authorities, and to the *Allumghire-nameh*, Mr. Dow was probably indebted for the materials of his third volume, which is entirely occupied with the reigns of Jehanghire and Shah Jehan, and the first ten years of that of Aurungzebe; but he is silent as to the sources of his information. Under these circumstances, we have contented ourselves with borrowing, in this part of our historical outline, a few paragraphs ready to our hand, in the respectable work referred to.

tion, he secured the attachment of his subjects. He established a perfect security of property throughout his dominions. The forms of justice were made less intricate and more expeditious than before: fees were regulated; appeals were facilitated; and to corrupt a judge was, for the first time, made a crime. The neighbouring states, who had remained unconcerned spectators of the struggle for the throne, recognized the right which Aurungzebe had acquired by his sword. Soon after his accession, an ambassador arrived from Shah Abbas II. of Persia, to congratulate the new monarch; and he was followed by another envoy from Sujah, King of Bucharia.* The Emperor's pride was flattered by the acquiescence of these two powerful sovereigns in his title, and their representatives were received with unusual pomp. In the third year of his reign, a dreadful famine, occasioned by the unusual drought, prevailed in different parts of the empire. Aurungzebe, on this occasion, exerted himself with a humane policy to alleviate the distress of his subjects. Besides remitting the taxes due, he expended immense sums out of the royal treasury, in purchasing grain and conveying it to the suffering districts, where it was re-sold at a moderate rate, or freely distributed. This wise and virtuous conduct obliterated from the minds of his subjects all remembrance of the crimes by which he had attained the throne.

In the year 1664, the empire was very near being

* Tavernier mentions, among the sovereigns who sent embassies to Aurungzebe, the King of the Uzbeks, the Shereef of Mecca, the Prince of Balsara, and the Kings of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia. "The Hollanders also sent Menheir Adrican, chief of their factory at Surat, who was kindly received, and first despatched."—*Travels*, p. 190.

again thrown into disorder by the alarming illness and reported death of the Emperor. Shah Jehan was yet alive; and Aurungzebe, calling to him his son, Shah Allum, in an interval of ease, desired the prince, in case of his death, to take the merit of releasing his grandfather, as the only means of securing his personal safety and eventual succession. But the unexpected recovery of Aurungzebe disconcerted the intrigues which were already being formed; and the calm and settled state of the empire suffered no interruption. Aurungzebe, shortly after his recovery, left his capital, and withdrew his court for some months into Cashmeer for the benefit of his health. In this excursion, his guard consisted of nearly 50,000 men, exclusive of the retinues of his nobles and the camp-followers. The officers of state daily attended the presence, as was customary in the capital; and the imperial mandates were despatched from the camp to every corner of the empire. To the petitioners who followed the court, a small allowance was assigned, in compensation for the additional expense incurred in their journey; and every day, as usual, the Emperor heard appeals and administered justice. During his residence in this remote province, Jumla, his vizier, was carrying his arms into the kingdom of Assam.*

* Aurungzebe is said to have recommended his vizier to undertake this perilous expedition, with a view to furnish employment to a man whose power he feared. Jumla ascended the Brahmapootra in boats, and crossing the mountains, vanquished the king in his capital. The rains, however, drove him back to Bengal; and after surmounting incredible difficulties, he effected his escape through the inundated country, but with only the wreck of his army. He had written to the Emperor, that he would next year carry his arms to the heart of China; but on his return, he himself fell a victim to the effects of the hardships he had endured in a pestilential climate. See MOD. TRAV., *Birmah*, p. 245, where, on

In Gujerat, a formidable rebellion of the Rajpoots was suppressed; and equal success attended the exertions of the imperial generals on the frontier of the Deccan. These events took place in 1665. In February of the following year, the ex-emperor, Shah Jehan, died at Agra, having survived his confinement nearly eight years. Although Aurungzebe had kept him with all possible caution as a state prisoner, he was treated with the utmost distinction and respect; the ensigns of his former dignity remained to him, and no diminution was made in the number of his attendants. Aurungzebe even affected to consult him in all important affairs; and by these attentions and professions, he succeeded, towards the last, in soothing the melancholy to which the unhappy monarch had become a prey. He died in his seventy-fifth year.*

In this year (1666), Aurungzebe found himself suddenly involved, by the mistake of a secretary, in a war with Persia. The serious breach of etiquette which was construed into a designed insult, consisted in designating the Shah (Abbas II.) by no higher title than *wali* (master) of Iran, in the letter accompanying the imperial presents from the sovereign of Delhi, who was styled Allumghire, lord of the world. Aurungzebe wished to explain the mistake; but his

another authority, the general in this expedition is styled Moursum Khan.

* Dow, iii. 332. There seems no ground whatever for the remark of Orme, that his father's death was imputed to Aurungzebe. Dow states, that "the same disorder which had lost to him the empire, was the cause of his death;" namely, a paralytic attack with strangury, and that he languished for fifteen days. As little reason is there for Mr. Maurice's representation, that he died of a broken heart. His fits of passion seem, indeed, to have bordered on insanity, and Aurungzebe was the particular object of his malediction and hatred; but he appears to have been treated with singular tenderness and consideration.

ambassador was not admitted even to an audience. Preparations for war were made on both sides, and Shah Abbas advanced in person at the head of a numerous army, into Khorasan. Aurungzebe was thrown into the greatest perplexity and alarm. The Persian nobility in Delhi were numerous and powerful, and their fidelity was not to be relied upon. The Patans were still more to be feared, as they were known to be ill affected to the Mogul dynasty. Aurungzebe was forced, however, to dissemble his suspicions, and he prepared to take the field in defence of his throne; but when he was within a few miles of Lahore, intelligence was brought, that Shah Abbas had been carried off by disease in his camp.* Pacific overtures were at the same time received from the uncle of the Shah, who remained in command of the Persian army. Of these, Aurungzebe gladly availed himself; and India escaped, for this time, the perils and miseries of a fresh invasion. That fate, in all its bitterness, Persia was destined first to experience, at the hands of a common enemy, whose power was already becoming formidable. This was the Afghans, who, in 1668, crossed the Indus, and spread terror and devastation through the plains of the Punjaub.†

* According to Chardin, Shah Abbas died, September 25, 1666, at Teber Estoun, a palace two leagues from Damghaun. His life is supposed to have been shortened by his intemperance.—See Mod. Trav., *Persia*, i. 192, 3.

† Mr. Orme remarks, that the intrigues of the Persians "had sown the seeds of future commotions in the Mogul's empire; for several of the Patan tribes of Peishawir and Caubul had confederated to join the Persians; and being left by the death of the Sophy (Sefi) to the mercy of Aurungzebe, were punished with vindictive severity. Tumults ensued, which were quelled and revived, until time and despair united all the tribes in stedfast rebellion."—Orme, 21. If the Persians had any hand in stirring up the rebellion of the Afghans, (which is doubtful,) the retribu-

They were ultimately defeated and driven back to their strong-holds; and the year 1669 closed with the re-establishment of tranquillity throughout the empire.*

In 1673, however, the rebellion of these bold marauders again assumed a serious aspect. A considerable force sent against them by the Mogul governor of Peishawir, was surrounded in the defiles of their mountains, and destroyed, together with the commander. Emboldened by this success, the Afghan chiefs now meditated the conquest of the empire. With this view, they produced, as a competitor for the imperial throne, a Patan soldier, who bore so strong a resemblance to Sultan Sujah, in whose army he had served, as to enable him to support the assumed character of that prince.† Aurungzebe, alarmed at

tion with which they were visited was terrible. About sixty years after, the descendants of those bold marauders overthrew the Sefi monarchy.

* At this period (1669), the *Allumghire-namah*, translated by Dow, terminates, and with it, his account of the reign of Aurungzebe. Mirza Kasim, the author of the *Allumghire-namah*, was private secretary to the Emperor; and the work, which is said to have been composed under Aurungzebe's inspection, is stigmatized by Mr. Orme as "a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father and the destruction of his three brothers, with six of their sons." In the hands of Mr. Dow, it certainly bears no such character, but wears the appearance of greater impartiality than the elaborate recital of Bernier and the gossip of Tavernier. Bernier's narrative terminates in 1666; and Tavernier appears to have left India about the same time. Little dependence can be placed upon the desultory and often inaccurate statements of the latter. His information was, to a great extent, gathered from mere hearsay; and he is said to have even dictated to those who arranged his travels, in many instances from memory, if not from imagination. Sir W. Ouseley has placed his authority in a proper light.—*Travels*, vol. ii. app. 10.

† Sultan Sujah, the elder brother of Aurungzebe, according to the prevalent report of the time (as stated at p. 286), had been

the rapid advance of this popular pretender, marched out of Delhi, and displayed the standard of the empire. Leaving his son, Sultan Mauzum, to preside in the capital, he proceeded, at the head of an immense army, to the Indus, which he crossed towards the end of the year 1674. The vanguard of this mighty host, which first passed the river, unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Patans, were defeated; and the victors, with their characteristic inhumanity, put to death their prisoners. "But after the main army under Aurungzebe had passed, the Patans confined their resistance to skirmishes, the defence of posts, and night assaults on the camp; which protracted the war for fifteen months. Numbers at length prevailed; for the Mogul army was sufficient to people the country they had attacked. After all the more habitable valleys were reduced, the Patans retired into the more inaccessible mountains, in which Aurungzebe did not think it worth the prize to expose his troops, nor his own presence fur-

murdered, with his family and followers, by a Rajah, on the confines of Arracan. The particulars are given by Dow, (vol. iii. pp. 297—302,) from which he would appear to have been drowned. But, as his head had never been produced, nor the fact vouched for by any persons who knew him before his flight, some credit was given to other reports that he had escaped. This "is believed," Mr. Orme says, "as we are informed, in the island of Sooloo, far from Arracan and Bengal, where his tomb is shewn at this day. This uncertainty of his fate, furnished credulity and intrigue with pretensions to assert that he continued alive in Indostan, concealed now here, now there, but ready to appear on any favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the throne. Aurungzebe was convinced of his death, but was very attentive to the use which might be made of the reports of his being alive."—Orme, p. 50. Whether the one who now made his appearance was the real Sujah, or a pretender, may still be deemed an historical question.

ther necessary; but establishing a chain of posts, and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general specially selected, returned himself to Delhi (in July 1676), whence he had been absent twenty-seven months. Nevertheless, the work was not yet finished to his mind; and he continued at Delhi, waiting the completion he had prepared.

"The former governors of Peishawir and Caubul had always kept the Patans under severe restrictions, and their chiefs at an imperious distance. But Cossim Khan, whom Aurungzebe appointed on his return to Delhi, assumed a different conduct. He remitted the arrears, and lowered the rates of their tributes, treated their chiefs with equality, and even visited them with slender attendance and negligent familiarities, which left him at their mercy; submitting to incur their contempt in order to gain their confidence; but no condescension could induce them, as he hoped, to deliver up the pretended sultan. He, however, diverted them from any sinister suspicions of himself; and got all who especially supported the pretender, to come to a festival at Peishawir; at which he made them intoxicated, when bands, concealed for the purpose, came in and massacred them all, while others overpowered their retinues. The impostor, on the destruction of his protectors, escaped over the mountains into Persia, and was never afterwards heard of. This execrable deed, Aurungzebe himself was obliged, by the public detestation, to reprobate; and recalling Cossim Khan, he degraded him to the lowest rank of omrahs, but privately assured him of favour. To soothe or obviate the vengeance of the Patans, he sent first his son Akbar, and then Sultan Mauzum to

Peishawir. But the Patans were too much disconcerted by the loss of their chiefs, to recur to arms."*

In the mean time, the Deccan had been the theatre of important events; and it will now be necessary to go back a few years, in order to give an account of the origin of a power which had acquired strength sufficient to resist the armies of Aurungzebe, and which, after various vicissitudes, was able to retaliate, on his successors, the injuries inflicted by his sword.

At the time that Aurungzebe left his government in the Deccan, in order to secure the throne of Delhi, he had broken the force of the kingdom of Golconda, but Viziapore (Bejapore) still remained formidable.† Unable to prosecute his conquests, and anxious to leave that power in check, he entered into an alliance with an enterprising chieftain, who, at the head of a formidable banditti, had made himself master of great part of the Concan, and had even extended his predatory incursions to Gujerat. This was Seva-jee, the founder of the Mahratta empire; which, commencing when that of the Moguls was at its zenith, rose to greatness as that power declined, and has only within our own times been reduced to political insignificance.

The name of Maharashtra, from which Mahratta is

* Orme, pp. 67, 8.

† After the dissolution of the Bhamenee dynasty of the Deccan, Abou ul Musuffer Adil Shah founded the Adil Shahy sovereignty of Bejapoor, A.D. 1489, comprehending all the country from the river Beemah to Bejapoor. At the time of Sevajee's revolt, the reigning monarch was Mahommed Adil Shah, the seventh of the dynasty. He died in 1660, and was succeeded by Ali Adil Shah II., who, after a turbulent reign of twelve years, during which he enjoyed little more of royalty than the name, left his throne to Secunder Adil Shah, the last of his race. The monarch of Golconda, contemporary with Mahommed Adil Shah, was Abdullah Kutt'ub Shah.

corrupted, is given by the Hindoo geographers to the mountainous regions extending from the borders of Gujerat to Canara, including the provinces of Khandeish, Baglana, and part of Berar. The Mahratta language is now much more widely spread, but it does not prevail as the vernacular dialect, much beyond the ancient boundaries of their country.* Mharat, a district of Baglana (in Aurungabad), may perhaps, as Capt. Jonathan Scott supposes, have given name to the country of which it seems to have formed the nucleus.† The Mahrattas were divided into several tribes, which derived their respective names from their distinguishing occupations, as cultivators, shepherds, and cowherds; and their claim to a Rajpoot descent is disproved as well by this circumstance as by

* From Beder, Col. Wilks says, the Mahratta language is spread over the whole country north-westward of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowletabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Tapti, and follows the course of that river to the Western Sea (Wilks, p. 6). In Bejapoor, approaching the Kriahna from the southward, the Mahratta comes more and more into use, while, beyond it, the Canara dialect begins to decline; although the latter is spoken more to the north of that river, than the Mahratta is to the south. Eastward of the Mahratta country, the Telinga prevails from near Cicacole, in the Northern Circars, to Pullicut, in the Carnatic.

† Scott's Deccan, Intr., p. x. i. 32. Nizam ul deen, a native historian in the reign of Akbar, relates, that one of the kings of Delhi (Allah I.) made an excursion from Deoghur into the neighbouring province of *Marhat*.—Rennell, p. lxxx. Ferishta, in like manner, states, that Cafoor "subdued the country of the Mahrattors, which he divided among his omrahs." Baglana is the district apparently referred to. See p. 208. The same historian mentions Narsingh, a prince of the Maharattas in A.D. 1321. Mr. Wilford assigns the Mahrattas a Persian origin; but he confounds them with the Rajpoots, and his remarks are wholly inapplicable to the Mahratta race, whose language is a derivative of the Sanscrit. It is strange, that Mr. Orme should speak of Sevajee as "the founder of the present nation of Morattoes."

their diminutive size and distinct physical character. Sevajee, however, claimed, on his father's side, to be descended from a Rana of Oudipoor, the head of all the Rajpoot princes. He was the son of Shahjee, whose father Malojee was the son of Bauga Bonsla, a son of the Rana by a woman of inferior caste. * The degradation of Bauga Bonsla from the baseness of his birth, drove him to seek among strangers that respect which he was denied at home. He served, during part of his life, a rajah possessing a *zemindaree* (jurisdiction) in Khandeish; and afterwards purchased for himself a *zemindaree* in the neighbourhood of Poonah, where he resided till his death. His son, Malojee, entered the service of a Mahratta chief, in which he acquired so much distinction as to obtain the daughter of his master in marriage for his son, Shahjee; and Sevajee was the fruit of this marriage. Shahjee, having quarrelled with his father-in-law, repaired to the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah, King of Bejapore, who conferred on him a *jagheer* in the Carnatic, with a command of 10,000 horse. Here, he joined the Polygar of Mudkul (or Madura) in a war upon the Rajah of Tanjore; and having defeated the Rajah, the victors quarrelled about the division of the territory. Shahjee then defeated the Polygar, and took possession of both Mudkul and Tanjore. He was succeeded in his dominions by Angojee or Ekoojee, his son by a second marriage, whose descendants were rajahs of

* See authorities in Mill's History, ii. 359. Major Rennell says, that the *mother* of Malojee was "an obscure person of a tribe named Bonsola, (sometimes written Bouncello and Boonsla,) which name was assumed by her son, and continued to be the family name of his descendants, the Rajahs of Sattarah and Berar."—*Mem.*, p. lxxx.

Tanjore, till they sank into dependents of the East India Company.

Sevajee, when very young, was sent along with his mother to reside at Poonah, under the charge of Dadajee Punt, the officer to whom his father had entrusted the management of his *zemindaree*. The mother of Sevajee was an object of aversion to her husband; and the son shared in the neglect which was the lot of his parent. He grew up, however, under Dadajee's care, to vigour both of body and mind; and at seventeen years of age, engaged a number of banditti, at whose head he ravaged the neighbouring districts. Dadajee, afraid of being made to answer for these enormities, and unable to restrain them, swallowed poison. On his death, Sevajee took possession of the *zemindaree*, and having increased the number of his troops, commenced marauder on a large scale. Such was the infancy of his career.

At this time, Shahjee was too much occupied in another quarter to be able to interfere with the proceedings of his son. Aurungzebe encouraged the adventurer, and is even said to have promised that he should hold, exempt from tribute, whatever territories he might conquer belonging to Bejapore.* He soon became sufficiently formidable to set the Mogul at defiance. Taking advantage of the interval of distraction occasioned by the contentions between the brothers, he

* Orme, p. 7. This Author states, that, in addition to this concession, Aurungzebe "gave him two or three forts which opened into Viziapore." Mr. Mill, following a different authority, says, that Aurungzebe, when hastening his preparations for the war with his brothers, invited Sevajee to join his standards, but that "the short-sighted Hindu insulted his messenger, and reproached Aurungzebe himself with his double treason against a king and a father." There is, at least, an anachronism in this statement.

seized the strong fortress of Raree* in the Ghauts, which he fixed upon as the seat of his government; and to this he soon added Peorundeh, Jagnah, and several districts dependent on the sovereign of Bejapore. He put to death, by treachery, the Rajah of Jaowlee, and seized his treasure and territory; he also plundered the rich manufacturing city of Callian.† At length, the king of Bejapore sent an army against him. Sevajee deceived the general, Abdul, with professions of submission, and having seduced him to a conference, stabbed him with his own hand. His retinue were all cut off by an ambuscade, except the son of Abdul, who escaped, and the army immediately broke up and dispersed. This event appears to have occurred before Aurungzebe had succeeded to the throne. After this, he took by stratagem Pannela, or Parnala, one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan; and having defeated a second army sent against him under the son of Abdul, by corrupting one of the generals, he had the boldness to appear plundering under the very walls of Bejapore. He was, however, recalled to the defence of Pannela, which was closely invested by Siddee Jore, governor of the port of Dunda Rajapore, and admiral of the fleet maintained by the sovereign of Bejapore, to protect his trading ships

* Raree is a town in Bejapoor, 45 miles S.S.W. of Poonah, in lat. 18° 2′ N., long. 73° 32′ E.—HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*.

† Written by Mr. Orme, Gallian; by Mr. Mill, Kallean. The former supposes it to be the famous Calliana of the Periplus. Early in the fourteenth century, it appears to have existed as the metropolis of Salsette, Bombay, Bassein, and the adjacent country. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1535, but they do not seem to have maintained it with a constant garrison: at this time, it belonged to the kingdom of Bejapore. Fryer, who visited the place in 1675, describes it as exhibiting "the most glorious ruins the Mohammedans in Deccan ever had cause to deplore."—ORME, 215.

against the Portuguese and the government of Surat. The siege had been maintained for some time with little effect, when Sevajee proposed to negotiate for its surrender, and he led the enemy to believe that he was upon the point of capitulating. In the mean time, he secretly withdrew from the fort, and collecting some troops from his other stations, suddenly marched to Dunda Rajapore, where he produced a forged order from Siddee Jore for the delivery of the place, as the condition of the surrender of Pannela. His appearance obtained credit for the forgery; for it was supposed that he could not have left his fortress without coming to terms with Siddee Jore. He was, consequently, admitted into the town; but the commander of the fortified island of Gingerah, which is the valid bulwark of the harbour, entertained suspicions, and would not give it up.

On the loss of Rajapore, the siege of Pannela was raised.* Siddee Jore went to Bejapore to exculpate himself to his sovereign; but the ill-dissembled resentment of the monarch exciting either his apprehensions or his disgust, he withdrew with the troops under his command, and defeated a larger body which were sent in pursuit of him. On this, the king himself took the field; but, the night before the intended encounter, Siddee was assassinated. Upon this, the governor of the fortified island, who was his heir, instigated by a desire to revenge his death, entered into a treaty with

* Pannela (as Mr. Orme spells it) would seem, from the description, to be the fortress of Pawanghur in the circar of Parnala or Nabichadourouk (Orme, 188); mentioned in Hamilton's Gazetteer, as a place of great strength. Mr. Mill, in enumerating the conquests of Sevajee, states, that he "took Madury, *Purdhaungur*, Rajapore, Sungarpore, and an island belonging to the Portuguese. Pannela is not mentioned, and we suspect that by Purdhaungur, Pawanghur is meant.

the generals of Aurungzebe, proffering his services, together with the fort and the whole fleet of Bejapore. His terms were accepted, and he was appointed the Mogul's admiral with a large stipend on the revenues of Surat, whence he subsequently received repeated succours against Sevajee. These events took place in the years 1660 and 1661; and such was the origin of the power of the Siddees under the Mogul Emperors.*

In the mean time (1660), Mahomed Adil Shah, the sovereign of Bejapore, died, leaving his son a minor; and the confusion into which the kingdom had previously been thrown, was increased by the contentions of the nobles for the regency. Taking advantage of these circumstances, Sevajee sent detachments which speedily overran the whole of the Concan from Goa to Damaun. Some places they ravaged; in others, contributions were levied; and in the sea-ports which he retained, he encouraged, instead of suppressing, the system of piracy for which this coast has at all times been infamous. At the same time, Sevajee in person issued from his hill-forts into the plains, and on meeting with opposition from the Mogul troops, contrary, as he alleged, to his treaty with Aurungzebe, carried his ravages into the Emperor's territory. Indignant

* Siddee appears to have been a name applied in common to those Abyssinian adventurers who had passed over in great numbers from their own country into the service of the sovereigns of the Deccan, and who frequently engrossed there a large proportion of the offices of state. Siddee Jore was himself called *the* Siddee, by way of distinction; his principal officers had the term Siddee prefixed to their names; and his crews and followers were, in general, denominated the Siddees. They carried on an active warfare along the whole western coast of India, and were not only dangerous and troublesome enemies to Sevajee, but formidable even to the British and other European traders.—Orme, p. 56.

at these insults, Aurungzebe sent peremptory orders to Shaista Khan, his uncle, who then held the government of the conquered provinces in the Deccan, to extirpate Sevajee and his adherents. The Soubahdar (viceroy), advancing to the hills, reduced most of Sevajee's outposts without meeting with much resistance; but he was detained for some time before Jagnah, a hill-fort inaccessible to assault, although on the edge of the champaign country; and he is said to have taken it by flying a paper kite with a lighted match at the tail, which blew up the magazine of powder, and by this means the garrison were destroyed.* The rainy season, which permits no operations from the beginning of May to the latter end of August, suspended his further progress. In the next campaign (1663), the viceroy of Gujerat, Jesswunt Singh Rajah, was commanded to co-operate with the army of the Deccan under Shaista Khan. Difference of religion, national prejudice, and pride of birth, concurred to set the two generals at variance; and Sevajee, availing himself of his secret information, found means to tender his services to the Maha-rajah, to assassinate the Mogul ameer. The offer was accepted; and although the story is told in different ways, it is certain that Sevajee provided the assassins, if he did not act in person. They succeeded in making their way to the tent of Shaista Khan at midnight; but the Soubahdar, waked by their noise, had time to seize a lance, with which he defended his head, while his son, rushing to his assistance, was slain. The assassins fled, leaving their work unfinished;† but the incapacity to which Shaista

* Dow iii. 312. Orme considers the story as credible. He writes the name of the place Chagnah. It is the Jegnah of Mr. Mill.

† Dow, iii. 313. Orme, 12.

Khan was reduced by his wounds, put an end to the campaign. His suspicions of treachery fell upon his colleague, and he returned to Delhi. The Maha-rajah was subsequently recalled; and a truce was concluded with Sevajee. For the next two years, the illness of the Emperor occasioned a suspension of all further operations against him.

In the mean time, the Prince of Concan, as Dow styles him, was not idle; but availing himself of so fair an opportunity, resolved to make an attempt upon Surat, the chief port of the Mogul empire, and that from which the pilgrims to Mecca commenced their voyage. It is said that he went to that city in disguise, and remained there three days, collecting intelligence, and marking the opulent houses. To conceal his intentions, he formed two camps, one before Chaul, the other before Basseen, as if his designs were on those quarters. He then put himself at the head of 4000 horse from the latter station, and by unfrequented tracks which he had himself examined, appeared in sight of Surat before his approach was known. The governor took refuge in the castle, with all who could gain admittance. The English and Dutch factories also stood on their defence, and Sevajee gave them no molestation. The rest of the town became his unresisting prey; and during the three days that he remained there, he is supposed to have collected, in treasure, jewels, and precious commodities, a booty of a million sterling.*

This daring exploit occurred in January 1664; and it may be supposed to have had the effect of deter-

* Orme, p. 12. The annual imports of specie from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, are stated to have amounted at this time to 5,000,000 rupees; and two families in the town were the richest mercantile houses in the world.

mining Aurungzebe to take strong measures for the annihilation of this bold assailant. In 1665, a considerable force was sent against him, under the joint command of Jey-Singh, Rajah of Ambeer, and Dilleer, a Patan omrah. The troops of Sevajee were driven from the field; his country was plundered; and Poorundeh, a strong fortress in which he had placed his women and treasures, was besieged. "It was reduced to the last extremity, when Sevajee, unarmed, presented himself at one of the out-posts of the imperial camp, and demanded to be led to the general. Professing conviction of his folly in attempting to contend with the Mogul power, he craved the pardon of his disobedience, and offered to the Emperor his services, along with twenty forts which he would immediately resign. Jey Singh embraced the proposal; and Sevajee obeyed the imperial order to wait upon the Emperor at Delhi. Sevajee had offered to conduct the war in Candahar against the Persians. Had he been received with the honour to which he looked, he might have been gained to the Mogul service, and the empire of the Mahrattas would not have begun to exist. But Aurungzebe, who might easily have despatched, resolved to humble the adventurer. When presented in the hall of audience, he was placed among the inferior omrahs; which affected him to such a degree, that he wept and fainted away. He now meditated, and with great address contrived, the means of escape. Leaving his son, a boy, with a Brahmin whom he knew at Muttra, and who afterwards conducted him safe to his father, he travelled as a pilgrim to Juggernaut, and thence, by the way of Hyderabad, to his own country."*

* Mill, ii. 362, 3. The story of Sevajee's reception at the court of Delhi and his escape, is told, with romantic variations, by Orme, on the authority of Thevenot, and by Dow, on that of his

Immediately on his return, Sevajee assumed royal titles, and struck coins in his own name. Yet, in a letter to Jesswunt Singh Rajah, who had succeeded to the command of the Mogul army, he averred, that only because his life was in danger, had he fled from the imperial presence, where his faithful tender of service had been treated with scorn, and that still he desired to return within the walks of obedience. By these professions, he obtained a truce, of which he availed himself to provision his forts. He then again took the field, and soon recovering all the forts he had resigned, added to his former possessions, several important districts belonging to Bejapore. In 1669, Surat was again plundered. Sevajee also compelled the king of Bejapore to pay him a contribution of three *laks* of pagodas, and extorted from the sovereign of Golconda another of four. In the mean time, several Mogul generals were successively sent to conduct the war against him, and were recalled in displeasure, owing to the ill success of their exertions. In fact, Aurungzebe's attention and resources were directed to another quarter, by the rupture with Persia and the Afghan war; while mutual jealousies between the Emperor and his son Allum Shah, who governed in the Deccan, precluded, at this time, any effectual prosecution of the war against the Mahratta chief.* With a view, however,

Persian original; both differing, in the details, from the recital we have adopted. Dow represents Sevajee's demeanour before the Emperor as fearlessly haughty and even insolent. The daughter of the Emperor, who witnessed the scene from behind a curtain, fell in love with the intrepid captive, and interceded for him. Orme represents him as upbraiding Aurungzebe with intended treachery; but will not believe that a young princess should take so much interest in the fate of a stranger!

* Father Navarette, who was at Golcondah in 1670, writing of the Great Mogul, says: "This man (Aurungzebe) had a

to confine Sevajee to his own defence, Aurungzebe ordered vessels to be built in the ports of Cambay and Surat, which were to make descents on the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee.

These preparations only served to increase the exertions of Sevajee to extend his conquests along the coast. In 1670, he sent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore, situated on a fine river 40 miles N. of Gheriah, and which had long been a much frequented port. Resistance was made even in the field; but the town was carried, and all kinds of property were plundered without remission or distinction, although much belonged to the trade of states with whom Sevajee had no quarrel. The English had, at this time, a factory in the town, and their loss was estimated at 10,000 pagodas. In 1671, Sevajee again appeared before Surat, ravaging and plundering until the city paid him a large contribution in money.* In the following year, he despatched his general, Morah Pundit, with 10,000 horse, on another visit to that place, with orders to burn the ships which had been built there by Aurungzebe's orders, and which were assembled in the

son, who governs a province eight days' journey from Golcondah, which properly belongs to this prince, who designs to follow the example his father set him, and get all into his own hands. Anthony Coello, who had served under him, told me, that he had already 200,000 horse and 300,000 foot; a brave army, if they are but good men. He designs to join in league with the rebel Subagi, who is very great and powerful. I mentioned in another place, how he attacked the territory of Goa, and carried away two or three thousand Christians and a Franciscan. He sent to demand of the viceroy of Goa to make good a ship of his the Portuguese had taken. The viceroy was in a passion, and beat his ambassador; an action nobody could approve of."—ORME, p. 205.

* He demanded a large sum from the Dutch factory on this occasion, but it was refused.—ORME, 207.

river, ready to sail with the Siddee's fleet as soon as the season would permit. In this project he failed, but he closely blockaded the town, and at length obtained a considerable sum as ransom.

The details of Sevajee's proceedings now become too complicated and varied to follow. In 1673, he invested the strong and important fortress of Satarah, which surrendered towards the end of August, and much treasure fell into his hands. He laid siege to the castle of Pondah, but it resisted all his attacks, and he at length compounded with the governor. He alarmed the city of Goa by carrying his inroads as far as the island of Bardez; but, as the citizens were not attacked, they refrained from acting on the offensive. Sevajee was so well satisfied with these successes, that, in April, 1674, he ordered preparations for his enthronement as Rajah. He employed a month in purifications and other preliminary ceremonies prescribed by his Brahmins. As one of these august formalities, he was publicly weighed against gold; and the amount, 16,000 pagodas, equal to 112lbs. avoirdupois, was given to the priests. The ceremony of the enthronement was magnificent, in close imitation of that of the Mogul emperors. At the conclusion of the festivals, 100,000 pagodas more were distributed among the Brahmins; and the same amount was given in rewards to his officers. Prior to this ceremony, he received at his capital, Raree, an embassy from the English colony at Bombay. The envoy was politely treated, but Sevajee referred to his ministers for a completion of the treaty under negotiation. Eighteen of the twenty articles proposed, were eventually admitted. Of the two rejected, one regarded the currency of Bombay money in Sevajee's dominions, which was dismissed with the observation from Sevajee, that he could not compel his

subjects to take foreign money. The other related to the exemption of English wrecks on his coast, which, he said, had been the property of the sovereign from time immemorial; and, if conceded to the English, would be demanded by other European nations. In the articles admitted, were comprised sufficient terms of amity and commerce, but no alliance. Sevajee allowed 10,000 pagodas for the damages sustained by the English factory seven years before at Rajapore; one-half to be paid in money, the other in betel and cocoa nuts. This transaction is curious, as being the first occasion on which an English government was brought into contact with a Mahratta rajah.

In April 1675, Sevajee took the fortress of Pondah after a renewed siege of two months; whether by treachery, by assault, or by surrender, does not appear. He then attacked the neighbouring territory of Sundah. The town of Carwar was burned, because the castle did not surrender on the first summons, but the English factory was exempted from violence. The whole country was reduced as far as the river Mirzeou, the northern limit of the kingdom of Canara, the queen of which country sent gifts to Sevajee, and solicited his assistance against some of her ministers and relations. These operations were continued during the rains, and detained Sevajee from his capital till the end of August. In the mean time, his own territories in the champaign country were exposed to the devastation of the Mogul army under Bahadur Khan; but from this, they were redeemed by a bribe or bargain of redemption, to the amount of 10,000 pagodas, which might perhaps be represented as a tribute.

In the following year, illness confined Sevajee to his capital till the end of June; and this interval of

repose, which lasted eight months, was the longest that he had known ever since he first drew his sword. He then set out on an expedition of which no one knew the object; and in July, he appeared in sight of Golcondah, with 12,000 horsemen, but twice that number of horses, for every rider had two. Their march had been so rapid and conducted with so much secrecy, that the government had had no time to collect a body of troops capable of opposing them, or even to barricade the inlets into the opulent city of Hyderabad. Even the king was precluded from taking refuge in the fortress of Golcondah, but remained in his palace in the city. Sevajee, having encamped at some distance, but nearer to the fortress, sent his emissaries to demand a vast sum as ransom for his refraining from burning the city to the ground, besides a daily allowance for the maintenance of his troops till the ransom should be paid. Here likewise, as formerly at Callian and Surat, he knew every wealthy house; and he let them know that they could rely upon no security except by taking his safeguards, which, instead of papers, were a few trusty men from the camp; and so great was the dismay, that this protection was eagerly purchased at a high rate by every family of distinction. While the negotiation was going on with the ministers, 5000 rupees were sent every day, as an allowance for provisions to his troops, who, however, bought nothing. At length, Sevajee agreed to visit the king in person; and as he would not admit of any superiority in the ceremonial, it was settled, that both should enter from opposite doors of the hall, advance, accost, and sit down at the same time. The conference lasted a considerable time, during which numbers of Sevajee's cavalry entered the city, and assembled round the palace, till they at length amounted

to 6000, all drawing up in exact order as if under review; and whenever Sevajee appeared at the window, which he did repeatedly, to let them see that he was safe, the whole body looked up with their eyes fixed upon him as if awaiting his signal. By this display, Sevajee seems to have wished to convey a strong impression of the affection and obedience of his troops. The purport of the conference between the Mahratta and the Mohammedan sovereigns was never known, but is supposed to have turned on their equal detestation of the Mogul. Some days after this, Sevajee was satisfied, and broke up his camp. On the last day, the stipulated allowance was doubled. What more he received, as the general ransom, was not divulged. Among other presents of courtesy, the king gave him a palankeen covered with plates of gold, on which he rode out of his camp on the day of his departure. The army returned with a vast train of booty to Raree in the beginning of September, where Sevajee immediately made preparations for another and still more important expedition.

Towards the end of September, this restless marauder marched from his capital with 30,000 horse, the greatest number he had hitherto brought into the field; giving out, that he intended to invade the kingdom of Canara. The army kept for awhile along the western foot of the hills, but suddenly ascended the ridge, and fell, unexpectedly, upon the northern region of Bejapore; where, after ravaging the open town and country, they laid siege at the same time to two strong forts, one called Belligong near Bancapore, and the other called Rayim, at five days' journey distance. Bahadur Khan, Aurungzebe's general, had, about this time, been defeated in two severe encounters with the troops of Bejapore; and Sevajee seems

to have had no difficulty in bringing him to consent to grant a free passage for his army through the Mogul territory, on condition of Sevajee's paying 400,000 pagodas to the Emperor, with his homage of fealty, and a truce of all hostilities was to continue during his absence on this expedition. It may be supposed that he had previously secured the concurrence of the monarch of Golcondah, whose territories he now entered in the amicable character of an ally; and in May 1667, he took up his quarters in a fortress belonging to that sovereign. From this place of rendezvous, he marched with his whole force, and passing by Tripetti, advanced within fifteen miles of Madras; but he seems to have made his main push against the impregnable fortress of Gingee, of which he is said to have gained possession by treachery. Of this, together with Volcondah and several other forts, he had made himself master in July, and some of his parties plundered as far as Seringapatam in Mysore. He laid siege to Vellore, which defended itself during more than four months. This rapid success could not be the effect merely of his arms, but he had, probably, gained over several of the chiefs in these recently acquired dependencies of the Bejapore kingdom.* He appointed Harjee Rajah his vice-regent in the con-

* At the close of the sixteenth century, the Carnatic was under the dominion of the Hindoo rajah of Bijanagur. After the ruin of that ancient capital, by the Mohammedan monarchs of the Deccan, in 1564, the rajahs appear to have successively fixed their capital at Pennacondah and Chandergherry; their kingdom extending over Tanjore and Madura, countries which had been conquered by the Bijanagur rajahs between 1490 and 1515. It was from the last of these sovereigns, (styled King of Bisnagar, although reigning at Chandergherry,) that the English obtained permission, in 1645, to settle at Madras. In 1656, the Carnatic was conquered by the Mohammedan kings of Bejapore and Golcondah.—Orme, pp. 61—63, and *notes*.

quered country, of which he fixed upon Gingee as the capital. An interview took place between Sevajee and his half-brother Ekoojee, who began to tremble for his own territories. Before, however, the former had time to conquer every part to the north of the Coleroon, he was recalled to his western dominions. He appears to have quitted the Carnatic about the beginning of the year 1678, and returned to Raree in April, after an absence of nineteen months. By this important conquest, Bejapore became as much exposed to his attacks from the Carnatic on one side, as from the Concan on the other; and the rich countries to the south of the Coleroon lay at his mercy from Gingee, whenever disengaged from other exertions.

But the career of Sevajee was now drawing near its close. In 1679, Sultan Mauzum (Shah Allum) arrived in the Deccan, and took up his court at Aurungabad, where he was joined by the son of Sevajee, who, having incurred the displeasure of his father, fled for protection to the Mogul at the head of 2000 horse. He was well received, and a high rank was bestowed upon him. At the same time, a change of administration had taken place in Bejapore; and the new vizier consented to join the Mogul Sultan against the Mahratta. The rainy season suspended the operations of the confederates, but Sevajee was not idle. In September, he came out of Pannela, where he had fixed himself, and a general battle ensued near Bejapore, in which, for the first time, the Mahratta chief was defeated: two thousand of his troops were slain, and as many surrendered. In this contest, the ensigns of Sambajee, the Rajah's son, were displayed against those of his father. Sevajee retreated to Raree, where he arrived in November. In the following month, being joined by a Berar rajah aggrieved by

the Mogul government, he again set forth, and suddenly appearing in the country between Aurungabad and Brampore, plundered Dongong, Chupra, and several other great marts, carrying his devastation to the gates of Brampore. His last exploit was, to fall upon a convoy of money to a great amount, which was on its way to Aurungabad. Of this, as of every thing concerning his enemy, he had received such early intelligence, that he was able to intercept it within a few miles of Brampore, before his approach could be known. But this booty was dearly purchased. The excessive fatigue which he underwent in this excursion, brought on an inflammation in his chest, attended with spitting of blood. His disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Raree; and had it been published, would not have been credited, so often had he sent abroad reports of his death at the very moment of setting out on some secret excursion. At this very time, his army, which he probably intended to have joined, was ravaging the country to the walls of Surat; and in that city, it was imagined, that Sevajee was commanding in person. Such was the general alarm, that the English presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river to Swally; and the governor of the town purchased his safety by a large contribution, with which Morah Pundit, Sevajee's general, returned to Raree, to see his master die. Sambajee also, having found means to regain his father's confidence, had made his escape from the Mogul service a short time before. He expired on the 5th of April, 1680,* in

* Mr. Mill says, in 1682; adding, in a note: "Wilks says, he died in 1680." This is the date given by Orme, who, in a note, cites contemporary documents in proof of it. According to Mr. Mill, Jesswunt Singh, the Maha-rajah, died in 1681. Mr. Orme says, in the beginning of the year 1678.

the fifty-second year of his age. His funeral pile was honoured with the horrid sacrifices that had been observed at the obsequies of the Maha-rajah, Jesswunt Singh, the year before; attendants, animals, and wives being burnt with the corpse.

Sevajee seems to have aspired to be the restorer of the Hindoo faith, as well as of the national independence. In his correspondence and manifestoes, he frequently styled himself the champion of the gods against the impious violator of their temples; and by this means he sharpened the antipathy of his troops against the Moguls. He affected the deepest reverence for his Brahmins, and was punctilious in the observance of his devotions. His private life was simple even to parsimony; and his manners, towards his own subjects, were free from ostentation, kind, and endearing. Respected as the guardian of the nation he had formed, he moved every where among them with unsuspicious security, often alone; while his wiles were the continual terror of the states with which he was at enmity, even in the midst of their citadels and armies. In personal activity, he exceeded Baber himself; and to undaunted courage he added the most fertile resources of stratagem. He met every emergency of peril, however sudden or extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude; but, while equal to the encounter of any danger, he always preferred to surmount it by circumvention. If this was impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring, and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Sevajee charging sword in hand.

The two circumstances to which, next to his personal courage and activity, he was chiefly indebted for his extraordinary success, were, the superior excellence and discipline of his cavalry, and his exten-

sive system of secret intelligence. The cavalry of the three Mahommedan states were always drawn from the northern countries and borders of India, with especial regard to their strength and size; and their shock was not to be resisted by any of the native cavalry to the south of Delhi. To this cause, all the conquests made by the Mohammedans in the southern provinces may be ascribed.* Sevajee first discerned the necessity of establishing a cavalry, of which the requisites were agility and endurance of fatigue. Besides the supplies obtained by purchase and capture, studs were raised from the most approved breeds. The horses were rode without a saddle, by men lightly accoutred, their only weapon being the sabre. Foot-men, inured to travel, bearing all kinds of arms, trooped with the cavalry; and spare horses were always taken, to bring off the booty, and to relieve the weary and wounded. All gathered their daily provisions as they passed. No pursuit could overtake their march. In conflict, their onset fell wheresoever they chose, and was sometimes relinquished in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known. But, although such measures were sometimes resorted to, in order to strike terror, and no quarter was given in case of resistance, they were not wanton in bloodshed; and in towns, they sought only the wealthy inhabitants, to carry them off for future ransom. Sevajee was, it is true, nothing

* In fact, all the Mohammedan conquests in India may be said to have been effected by cavalry. Prior to the Ghiznian invasion, armed elephants and archers were the force chiefly relied upon as the instruments of conquest. Sultan Mahmood, Timour, and Baber all effected their rapid conquests by armies of horsemen. The combination of the sabre with the bayonet and artillery, has extended the British dominion alike over the plains of the Ganges and the mountains of Nepaul and Mysore.

better than a captain of banditti; but the Mahratta was mild and merciful, in comparison with the ferocious Mogul. His object was plunder, not extermination, and he effected more by stratagem than by violence. Sevajee spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all the motions of his enemy; and the accuracy and minuteness of his local information, form one of the most striking features in his predatory system. He was still more profuse in corrupting the generals with whom he contended. The Mogul governors of Surat, the soubahdars of the Deccan, and even Sultan Mauzum himself, are reported to have accepted, more than once, the gold of Sevajee as the price of their connivance. The Hindoo had not the polished mind, the comprehensive views, the chivalrous character of Baber, Aurungzebe's illustrious ancestor; but, in boldness, activity, and enterprise, he was his equal, and he excelled him in stratagem and policy. Aurungzebe could not suppress the emotions of his joy on hearing of his death, but, at the same time, he bore this striking testimony to his genius. "He was a great captain, and the only one who has had the management to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and, nevertheless, his state has been always increasing." * At the time of his death, Sevajee's dominions comprised, on the western side of India, all the coast, with the back country of the hills, from the

* Orme, pp. 90—95. It is said, that Aurungzebe used to call Sevajee the Mountain Rat, either in allusion to his figure, which was short, thick, and black, or in reference to the character of his policy, as resembling the habits of that animal. Seva is, indeed, said to signify a rat in one of the Indian languages.—Orme, p. 263. The jerboa or *saftu* is, perhaps, meant.

river Mirzeou to Versal, with the exception of the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay and Salsette, and the Portuguese possessions between Bassein and Damaun on the north; an extent of about 400 miles in length, by 120 in breadth. At the distance of 300 miles from this territory, he was in possession, towards the eastern sea, of half the Carnatic, which was of itself equal to most of the Indian sovereignties.

Sambah or Sambajee, the eldest son of Sevajee, succeeded to the throne, but not without a competitor in a younger brother, whose adherents created him considerable danger, till the principal among them were put to death. The war continued to be carried on between the Mahratta generals and those of the Emperor, as it had been for several years, by sudden inroad on the one side, and pursuit on the other; but with few important advantages to either party. But in 1681, Akbar, one of the younger sons of Aurungzebe, who was employed in the war against the Rajpoots of Ajmeer, turned his standard against his father, on the offer of assistance from the enemy whom he was sent to subdue. One of Aurungzebe's tried artifices, that of raising jealousy between confederates, enabled him to defeat the first attempt of Akbar, who fled from the country of the Rajpoots, and took refuge with Sambajee. He was received by the Mahratta chief with extraordinary honours; and his escape excited in the mind of his father as much anxiety as had formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah among the Patans. Peace being conceded to the Rajpoot states, three distinct armies moved towards the Deccan, to extinguish this dangerous enemy.

Before we proceed to trace the result of this formidable invasion, we must advert to the origin of the war which had previously engaged the attention of

the Emperor. It appears to have been soon after his return from his expedition against the Afghans, that Aurungzebe, whether instigated by the sanguinary bigotry of the Moslem creed, or masking policy under the form of religious zeal, began to execute his cherished project of enforcing the conversion of the Hindoos throughout the empire, by the severest penalties, and in some cases by the sword. A few petty rajahs were lured to conversion by better appointments, but the people clung to their pagodas, and a severe persecution ensued. At Muttra and Benares, the ancient temples of the pagans were pulled down by order of the Emperor; and on their ruins, mosques of similar dimensions were erected. At Ahmedabad, there was a pagoda of singular beauty, the sculptures of which he ordered to be defaced, and the sanctuary was incurably desecrated by the slaughter of a cow within its walls.* These furious proceedings not

* Thevenot in Maurice, vol. iv. p. 483. We cannot sympathise in the extreme horror of the reverend historian at this transaction, which he styles "an atrocity beyond all precedent in the annals of sacrilegious barbarity." One would imagine he had never read the history of the Spanish conquests in the New World. Mr. Orme, speaking of "the spirit of martyrdom" raised by this persecution, says: "An old woman led a multitude in arms from Agra towards Delhi, whom Aurungzebe defeated in person." The circumstance alluded to had no connexion with these events, but was a spontaneous explosion of fanaticism, which took place in 1665. A body of mendicant fakeers, having grafted the profession of robber upon their original trade of begging, set up as their sovereign an old woman who had the credit of being a sorceress. The mania became contagious. Twenty thousand plundering saints armed with spells, marched upon Delhi, and actually defeated a body of imperial troops. Aurungzebe had recourse to counter-incantation. He wrote, with his own hand, certain mysterious words upon slips of paper, one of which, carried upon the point of a spear before each of the squadrons, would, he declared, render impotent the spells of the enchantress. The Emperor was believed; and though the fakeers fought with great desperation, they were all cut to pieces.—Mill, vol. ii. p. 352. Dow, vol. iii. pp. 328—30.

being attended with the desired effect, and the revenue of the provinces in which the persecution was carried on having suffered considerably, Aurungzebe was induced to lay upon all the Hindoos a heavy capitation-tax, as a bounty upon conversion.

There was one part of the empire, however, in which it was not so easy to enforce submission to this oppressive enactment. The three great rajahs of Rajpootana had never been brought to pay to the Emperor more than the homage of feudatories; and their territories, situated in the centre of the empire, were still distinct in their laws, institutions, and internal government, from the provinces which had received the Mogul yoke. The Rajpoot races claimed to be the noblest in the empire, and the ruling families traced their proud descent to Noosheerwan and to Porus.*

* "The Rajah of Oudipoor is looked on as the head of all the Rajpoot tribes, and has the title of Rana by way of pre-eminence. His family is also regarded with high respect by the Mussulmans themselves, in consequence of a curious tradition relating to his genealogy. He is said to be descended, in the female line, from the celebrated Anushirwan, who was king of Persia at the birth of Mohammed, and thus to have, in that line, a common origin with the Seids descended from Hussein the son of Ali."—HUNTER in *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 8. Captain Wilford labours to identify the Mahrattas with the Rajpoots, and to assign them in common a foreign origin, as emigrants from Persia. He is, as usual, very ingenious and very unsatisfactory.—*Asiat. Res.* vol. ix. p. 233, *et seq.* Abul Fazzel states, indeed, that the Ghelote tribe of Meywar considered themselves to be descendants from Nooshirwan, and that they came originally from Berar. Their ancestor received his education from a Brahmin, and his first settlement was in the village of Seesoodeah, whence the tribe is so called. Prior to his elevation to the rajahship, the reigning family were Bheels. The Rathore tribe of Marwar claimed a descent from the family of Jychund (Jya Chandra), rajah of Kanouje; and another branch is stated to have driven out the tribe of Gooly from Boglana.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. pp. 89—92. On the other hand, Major Rennell considers the Rajpoot tribes to be the representatives of the ancient *Catheri* or *Cathei*, with whom Alexander warred on the

The three rajahs of Chitore (or Oudipore), Joudpore, and Ambeer (or Jypore), were able, when united, to bring into the field, nearly 200,000 fighting men. Jesswunt Singh, rajah of Joudpore, having married the daughter of the last Rana, (the Rajah of Chitore,) had merged the two states into one, and was, consequently, distinguished as the Maha-rajah. He, as well as Jy-Singh, rajah of Ambeer, had served with honour as general in the imperial armies. The latter is praised by the Mohammedan writers of the time as the most eminent of all the Hindoos that they had known, in personal qualities and literary accomplishments. Worn out with age and laborious services, he died at Brampore, on his recal to Delhi, in 1668, not without suspicion of being poisoned by order of Aurungzebe.* His son, Ram Singh, was at that time, serving with a body of Rajpoots in attendance at Delhi; and he is said to have consented to admit the capitation-tax into his territory.† The demand was, however, met by Jesswunt Singh with a firm remonstrance; and he was preparing to resist

borders of the Malli; that is, Cshettris or Kuttries, Hindoos of the warrior class. Thevenot, speaking of the people of Moultan, says: "There is a tribe of Gentiles (Gentoos) here called Catry or Rajpoots; and this is properly their country, whence they spread all over the Indies."—RENNELL, pp. 93, 123, 230. There seems no reason, indeed, to doubt that the Rajpoots are genuine Hindoos, with a mixture, possibly, of Persian blood in some of the tribes.

* Mill, vol. ii. p. 363. Orme, p. 75.

† So Mr. Orme informs us. But Jesswunt Singh, in his noble letter to Aurungzebe, given in the notes, tells the Emperor, that the tribute ought first to have been demanded of Ram Singh, who was esteemed "the principal among the Hindoos." Was this Ram Singh the son of Jy Singh, or was he the Rana? If the latter, Mr. Mill is mistaken in supposing that Jesswunt Singh had, by his marriage, succeeded to that distinction. At all events, he here acknowledges the superiority of Ram Singh.—See ORME, pp. 75, 255.

the unjust and oppressive measure by open hostilities, when, in the beginning of 1678, he died, leaving a high-spirited widow and two sons not yet arrived at man's estate. Aurungzebe, to get them into his power, invited them to Delhi. They had arrived at the suburbs, when, receiving some intimation of their danger, they set off hastily on their return the same night, and though pursued by 5000 horse, effected their escape. On this, Aurungzebe took the field in person against them, and their mother invoked the assistance of all the Hindoos against their cruel oppressor.

In October of the same year, the imperial army entered the Rana's territory. The Rajpoots, at his approach, withdrew their herds and families into the recesses of the mountains. Aurungzebe, pursuing them without sufficient intelligence as to the nature of the country, soon found himself hemmed in, with all his army, among the defiles. Insuperable precipices obstructed his progress, while, by felling the overhanging trees, the natives, who occupied the heights, blocked up his retreat. In this situation, exposed to perish by famine, he is said to have been detained for two days, and was then released by the generous policy of the Rana, who suffered the way to be cleared. The favourite wife of the Emperor, a Circassian, who had accompanied him in this expedition, had been, with her retinue and escort, inclosed in another part of the mountain, and taken prisoner. She was now sent back to Aurungzebe, attended by a chosen escort; the Hindoo rajah requesting, as the only return for his forbearance, that Aurungzebe would refrain from destroying the sacred animals that might be left in the plains. Unmoved by this magnanimous conduct in his enemy, which he imputed to fear, Aurungzebe con-

tinued the war, laying waste the country, till he was a second time well nigh inclosed in the mountains. The arrival of his sons, Azim and Akbar, soon afterwards, afforded him an opportunity to withdraw from the hazards and fatigues of this inefficient warfare. He retired with his court and body-guard to Ajmeer, whence he might superintend, at a less inconvenient distance, the operations in the Deccan, as well as the war with the Rajpoots. This was maintained by his two sons in different directions; but at the end of the year 1679, neither of them had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains. In the following spring, Chitore, the ancient capital of the Rajpoot country, fell, for the third time, into the hands of Moslem plunderers,* being taken by surprise by Azim; but the conquest proved of little importance. The Rajpoots maintained possession of their mountains and fastnesses, and the war still lingered, when, at the beginning of 1681, Akbar raised the standard of revolt, supported by 30,000 Rajpoots. His plan was, to seize or assassinate his father, and to proclaim himself emperor. An astrologer betrayed the conspiracy to Aurungzebe; and by his agency, suspicions of treachery were excited in the minds of the Rajpoots, who deserted in a body by night to their own country. Akbar's general, a Patan, then volunteered to assassinate the Emperor. He had penetrated to Aurungzebe's pavilion, when he was stopped by the chamberlain; and in the affray which ensued, he was slain. The intelligence of his death deprived Akbar of his remaining adherents, and left him no alternative but flight. Aurungzebe was glad to conclude a treaty of peace, in

* By Allah-ud-deen in 1303; and by Akbar in 1567.

which the capitation-tax was neither insisted upon nor abandoned, and the conquered districts were ceded to the Rana.*

In September of the same year, Aurungzebe moved from Ajmeer towards Brampore, while the army of Sultan Azim marched to Ahmednuggur, and that of Sultan Mauzum to Aurungabad. Month after month, however, and year after year, passed away without any decisive result. Some forts were taken, and the country was ravaged; but little or no advance was made in the conquest of the country. In 1784, Sultan Mauzum was sent into the Concan, to reduce the Mahratta fortresses on the coast. He found it impossible to procure provisions; the climate disagreed with the Mogul troops; and he was obliged to return with only the wreck of his army. In the mean time, Sultan Azim, to whom had been entrusted the conducting of the war against Bejapore, was defeated in two pitched battles, and dangerously wounded in the last, which, together with the rains, stopped his further operations. The king of Golcondah, convinced that the fall of Bejapore would draw on his own ruin, now entered into a secret confederacy with that sovereign, and Sambajee joined the alliance. In 1685, a detachment of Mahratta horse set out from Raree,

* Orme, 85, 98, 106. The alternative of the capitation-tax originally demanded of the Rana, was: "That he should no longer strike coin with his own name, but with Aurungzebe's; that kine might be killed in his territory; that the pagodas should be demolished or converted into mosques; and that justice should be administered according to the Koran." If these terms were refused, the whole people were to be subject to the general capitation.—Orme, 75. The peace left the country *in statu quo;* and we have therefore a proof that the Rajpoots had always maintained their privileges.

and ravaged the country as far as Brampore; and in October of the same year, a body of 6000 horse crossed the Taptee and the Nerbuddah, and plundered the city of Baroach, where they proclaimed Akbar emperor. Aurungzebe exhibited signs of irresolution. The disturbed state of the interior provinces demanded his return to the capital. Agra was overrun by a formidable banditti, who infested all the roads, while in Malwah and Gujerat, the Rajpoots were committing similar disorders. But the Emperor durst not withdraw to a distance from the scene of action. One of his sons was in arms against him; he was both jealous and afraid of the eldest; and he remained at Ahmednuggur, waiting, apparently, for some favourable turn of events that might enable him, without personal risk, to secure the credit and advantage of a decisive conquest.

Between four and five years had been thus fruitlessly occupied, when, in 1686, the Emperor advanced from Ahmednuggur with an immense army, and joined, at Sholapore, the forces of his favourite son, Azim, to whom he wished to give the honour of completing a conquest that was no longer doubtful. Sultan Mauzum was, in the mean time, sent with his army to attack the king of Golcondah. The Mogul gold had been so well employed in Bejapore, that the king soon found himself disabled, by the desertion of his troops, from keeping the field. He retired to his capital, and thence to a strong fort. The city soon surrendered, famine hastening the capitulation; and the imperial army proceeded to invest the retreat of the unfortunate monarch (Secunder Adil Shah), who, seeing that no safety remained but in submission, surrendered. He appeared before his conqueror in silver

chains, with the demeanour of a captive rebel, rather than of a vanquished sovereign. Thus was the Adil Shahee dynasty terminated.*

The fall of Bejapore convinced Sultan Akbar that he could no longer hope to make head against the armies of his father. With Sambajee's concurrence, he embarked on board an English vessel for Muskat, whence he proceeded to the court of Isfahan, where he met with a hospitable reception. In the mean time, Sultan Mauzum had, in October, taken possession of the city of Hyderabad without resistance; the general sent to oppose him, having betrayed his trust, and passed over to the invading army. The king, invested in his fortress of Golcondah, in order to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest terms of submission, which Sultan Mauzum deemed it politic to accept. It is supposed that he feared to waken the jealousy of Aurungzebe by depriving him of the honour of the conquest. Whatever was his motive, he considered his honour as pledged to the fulfilment of the treaty, which had not been concluded without the Emperor's consent. When, therefore, after the fall of Bejapore, and the subsequent flight of Sultan Akbar, Aurungzebe turned his arms against Golcondah, Sultan Mauzum remonstrated against the breach of faith; for which he was arrested and conveyed a prisoner to one of the royal castles, his eldest son being sent to another. Golcondah was again in-

* Orme, 148, 9. "Mr. Gentil says, the city was taken Sept. 1, 1687, and the king appeared before Aurungzebe on the 14th. M. Anquetil du Perron proves, that Vizapore was taken in the first days of October, 1686." Scott, the Translator of Ferishta, whom Mr. Mill follows, places it in 1689. We suspect that the discrepancy arises from miscalculating the years of the Hejira corresponding to those of the Christian era, and we have therefore adhered to Orme in our dates.

vested, and, after a siege of seven months, fell (in October, 1687) by treachery; the means by which Aurungzebe constantly endeavoured to prepare the way for an easy conquest. Abou Houssein, the royal captive, was treated by the Mogul with the most contumelious indignity. It is even asserted, that he was scourged, to extort from him the discovery of his treasures. He died a prisoner in the fortress of Dowletabad, in 1704; and with him terminated the Cuttub Shahee dynasty, after it had existed 175 years.

No sooner had Aurungzebe turned his arms against Golcondah, than Sambajee, awhre of the danger which threatened him when left to contend single-handed against the whole force of the Moguls, renewed the war with every species of barbarity, poisoning even the tanks near which the enemy was expected to encamp. He obtained at first some brilliant successes; and though he was soon driven back again from the open country, he was invincible in his strong-holds. Aurungzebe resolved to have recourse to his usual policy; nor was it long before the Mahratta fell into his toils. His spies brought intelligence that Sambajee, at the head of a small squadron of horse, was engaged in a secret enterprise connected with his lawless pleasures. A body of troops was sent to surprise him, and being taken off his guard, he was overpowered and led a prisoner before Aurungzebe. He is said to have been promised life and rank in the imperial service, if he would turn moslem; but, on his indignant rejection of the proposal, he was treated with the most brutal indignities, being paraded in a fantastic dress, sitting backward on a camel, through the Mogul camp. After his tongue had been cut out as the penalty of blaspheming Mohammed,

he was insulted with another offer of life; and he was finally put to death in the most ignominious manner. Raree, the capital, together with the wives and infant son of this brave Hindoo, subsequently fell into the hands of the ruthless victor. *

This event had not the effect which Aurungzebe probably anticipated, that of producing submission on the part of the Mahrattas. On the contrary, it only seemed to rouse them to new efforts. While the imperial army was employed in the reduction of forts, various bands, under their respective chiefs, issued from their mountains, and spreading over the newly conquered countries, as well as even Berar, Khandeish, and Malwah, carried off great plunder, leaving behind them only devastation. The Mogul forces marched against them in all directions, and easily conquered them when they could bring them to action. But the Mahrattas eluded rencounter, retreating to their mountains when pursued, hanging upon the rear of the retiring enemy, and renewing their devastations as soon as the country was cleared of hostile troops. The Emperor persevered with great obstinacy in besieging the forts in the accessible part of the Mahratta country, and the greater number fell into his hands. But in the mean time, the Mahrattas so enriched themselves by plundering the imperial dominions, and so increased in numbers as well as in power, being joined by a large proportion of the zemindars in the countries which they overran, that the advantages of the war were decidedly in their favour. The administration of Aurungzebe, too, betrayed the infirmities of age. The more powerful

* Orme, 160—164. The story of Sambajee's capture is differently told. Mr. Mill represents him as having been surprised in one of his forts.

omrahs, who maintained numerous troops, and were able to chastise invaders, his jealous policy made him afraid to trust with the command of provinces. He therefore made choice of persons without reputation or power, who satisfied themselves with plundering the provinces they were unable to protect. It is even said, that Aurungzebe's generals purposely prolonged the war in the South, both for the sake of the plunder which it furnished, and from the apprehension that, on the reduction of the Peninsula, they should be employed in some harder and more hazardous service. In this harassing and unavailing contest were the last years of the aged Emperor consumed; and he appears, during the season, to have kept the field to the last, retiring to Ahmednuggur as his winter-quarters. There, in the February of 1707, at the advanced age of ninety, he at length perceived that the angel of death was rapidly approaching. He was seized with a fever, which deprived him of his remaining strength, but left his faculties unimpaired; and nothing can be more solemn and affecting than the farewell letters which, in this state, he addressed to his favourite sons, Azim and Kâmbuksh; the dying confessions of a conqueror, who found that "the instant which passed in power, had left only sorrow behind," with a dread of the great account to be rendered for the awful trust.* He expired, according to his wish, on a

* These letters were first given to the English public in the Memoirs of Eradut Khan, (a nobleman of Aurungzebe's court,) translated from the Persian by Captain J. Scott, 1786. They are inserted by Mr. Maurice in his History of Hindostan, vol. iv. p. 494. If genuine, of which there seems no reason to entertain doubt, they must be regarded as highly interesting documents. To Azim Shah, the aged Emperor writes:—

"Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived; weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members.

Friday, the 21st of February, in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and the ninetieth of his age.*

It is difficult to hold the pen steady in attempting to do justice to the character of this able monarch, who has been held up in opposite representations, as a monster of cruelty and hypocrisy on the one hand, and a model for sovereigns on the other. It is remarked, that he attained the throne by deposing his father and murdering his brothers; but Shah Jehan had already resigned the empire to Dara, when the fratricidal contest began; nor was the conqueror the only criminal. Shah Jehan, too, had himself rebelled against his father, and had sealed his own accession by the murder of unoffending rivals. But Aurungzebe is accused of having assumed the mask of religious austerity in order to gain the throne. That he was an ascetic and a rigid moslem, is true; but if he was

A stranger I came into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes of futurity are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing of me remains but skin and bone····I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of age, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have a strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves."

In the letter to Kâmbuksh occurs this striking expression:—"Wherever I look, I see nothing but the divinity."

* See authorities in Mill, ii. 273. If, however, his reign began in August 1658, as Mr. Mill affirms, he died in the 49th year of his reign; but Mr. Orme says, Aurungzebe dated it from May 12, 1659. The Mohammedan computation would, of course, increase the number of years. He was born in 1618.

a hypocrite, "we cannot but admire," to adopt the remark of Mr. Maurice, "the unshaken fortitude with which, during so prolonged a life, he submitted to privations of every kind, while presiding in the most luxurious court, and wielding the richest sceptre of Asia." Of the four brothers, Dara was suspected of Hindooism; Sujah was a libertine; Morad, a drunkard; and Aurungzebe was assuredly the most respectable. Bernier informs us, that the fate of Dara was decided upon in a council of omrahs, and that those who insisted upon the necessity of his death, urged, that he had long abandoned the religion of Mohammed; and we are told, on another authority, that it was his attachment to the Brahmins, together with a work which he wrote in defence of the Vedas, that cost him the empire.* Aurungzebe was a persecutor: he attempted to effect the conversion of the Hindoos by the sword. But, in our reprobation

* Orme, pp. 73, 240. Dara had written a treatise endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of the Vedas with those of the Koran A copy of this ironical treatise, entitled *Mujmah al Bahrain*, the Uniting of the Two Seas, was brought to England by Mr. Fraser, and is in the Radcliffe Library. His writing this book gave great offence to the Moslems. Dara also caused a Persic translation to be made by the Brahmins of Benares, of the *Oupaneeshat* (Unutterable); an abstract of the four Vedas, which gives, in fifty-one sections, the complete system of the Hindoo theology. A copy of the Persian version, with a MS. translation by Mr. Halhed, is in the British Museum; and a French translation by M. Anquetil du Perron has been published at Paris in 2 vols. 4to.—*Ibid.*, p. 239. In the preface to the *Mujmah*, Dara styles himself a fakeer, and ascribes his theological acquisitions to the instructions received during a visit to Cashmeer, from "that sage of sages, Molana Shah." Bernier represents him as a moslem in public, and in private "a pagan with pagans, a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about his person some of the Heathen doctors, on whom he bestowed pensions to a large amount. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Father Buzée, a Jesuit."—BERNIER, 8vo (1826), vol. i. p. 6.

of his sanguinary zeal, we must recollect, that he acted consistently with his principles as a moslem, not in defiance of them. Those writers who affect surprise that a Mogul sovereign should not have displayed a spirit of enlightened toleration towards his idolatrous subjects, seem to forget the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the recent date of our own Toleration Act. When it is recollected that Aurungzebe was the contemporary of Louis XIV. and of the Stuarts, it will hardly be contended that, on this point, the Mohammedan Emperor discovered less liberality or humanity than most of the Christian sovereigns of his day.

Aurungzebe is represented by the Author of the *Allumghire Nameh*, as naturally mild and affable in his manners; in his disposition, placable and humane; in his judicial administration, indefatigably vigilant and impartially just. When he appeared in public, he clothed his features with a complacent benignity; and those who had trembled at his name, found themselves at ease in his presence. In support of this representation of his character, it is mentioned to his honour, that capital punishments were almost unknown during his reign. The traveller Gemelli, who saw him at Bejapore in 1695, gives a pleasing description of his venerable appearance. In stature, rather below the middle size, of a slender make, an olive complexion, with an aquiline nose and a white beard, he walked leaning on a staff formed like a crosier; for age had in some degree bowed his back, though it had not dimmed the lustre of his eye. Benignity reigned in his features, and his manners were still marked by affability. His dress was always plain and simple. Except upon public festivals, the vest he wore seldom exceeded the value of eight rupees; nor were his sash and tiara loaded with jewels.

In camp, he was the most indefatigable man of his army; the first to rise, and the last to retire to rest; and in his younger days, he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapped in a tiger-skin. He was, at the same time, remarkably cleanly both in his person and his dress. His diet consisted, for the most part, of herbs and pulse: no fermented liquor ever passed his lips. He spent little time in the seraglio; and though, according to the custom of the country, he maintained a number of women, it was only as a part of imperial state, as he, in fact, contented himself with his lawful wives. He was the severe enemy of immoralities of every description. He discouraged gambling and drunkenness, both by prohibition and example; and the long train of dancers and singer, actors and buffoons, in which his father Shah Jehan had taken so much delight, were banished from his court as destructive of morals and degrading to majesty.

His public buildings partook of the character of his mind: they were useful, rather than splendid. At every stage from Caubul to Aurungabad, and from Gujerat to Bengal, he built and maintained caravanserais, furnished at the public expense. In all the principal cities, he founded universities: in the inferior towns, he erected schools. He also built and endowed numerous hospitals for the poor and maimed. He was the liberal patron and frequent correspondent of learned men throughout his dominions, and was himself not the least accomplished prince of the house of Timour. He was master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and he wrote the Tourki and most of the Indian dialects with ease and elegance. Many of the government despatches, written with his own hand, are remarkable for brevity and precision; and he is reported always to have corrected the diction

of his secretaries.* He understood and encouraged agriculture; was thoroughly versed in all the details of his vast empire; and the unfortunate and distressed invariably found a resource in the wise policy or bounty of the sovereign. Although his revenues amounted to thirty-two millions sterling, he left in his private treasury little more than 7000*l.*, of which, in his last will, he ordered 1000 rupees (125*l.*) to be distributed among the poor at his funeral. He directed his burial to be conducted without pomp, his tomb to be low and simple, like those of dervishes; and desired his "fortunate children" to give themselves no concern about a monument. Such a man deserves a better name than that of either bigot or hypocrite, tyrant or monster. If he is to be judged of by comparison, it would be difficult to find a despotic reign of half a century, stained by fewer crimes on the part of the monarch, or marked by a more laudable attention to the general interests and improvement of the empire.†

At the time that the last illness of Aurungzebe commenced, his eldest son, Mahomed Manzum (Shah Allum), was in Caubul; of which, as a distant province where he could be least dangerous, he was made governor upon his liberation from the confinement in which he had languished for several years. His two remaining sons, Mahomed Azim Shah, soubahdar of Gujerat, and Mahomed Kâmbuksh, on whom he had recently conferred the two new soubahs of Bejapore and Hyderabad, were both in the camp; but Aurungzebe hurried them away to their stations, fearing, it is

* If this was his constant practice, how came the breach of etiquette to be committed in the imperial epistle to Shah Abbas II.? Could it be an inadvertency?

† See Dow, iii. 358—362. Maurice, iv. 496—500.

supposed, lest their contests should anticipate his dissolution. He obviously foresaw the struggle that would ensue; and in his last will, not daring to appoint a successor, he expresses his desire that whosoever of his children might chance to rule the empire, he would not molest Kámbuksh, should he rest contented with the two new soubahs. By enjoining on all the imperial servants fidelity to Azim Shah, he tacitly intimated his preference of that son as his successor; but at the same time, he refers to a proposed division of the empire as certain, "if agreeable" to his children, to prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed. "There are," he says in this interesting document, "two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi. Whoever settles in Agra, may have the province thereof, Deccan, Malwah, and Gujerat. And who resides at Delhi, may have Caubul and the other provinces."*

Azim had not reached his government, when he received intelligence of the Emperor's decease. He hurried back to the camp, and, no competitor being present, received without difficulty the obedience of the army. As it was not expected, however, that Shah Allum would quietly resign his throne and his life, Azim began his march towards the northern provinces, and, on the approach of his brother, addressed him a letter offering to divide the empire. The proposal was indignantly rejected, and the two armies met on the banks of the Chumbul, near Agra. In the battle which ensued on the 9th of June, all the great omrahs who had served under the late emperor, displayed their standards on the side of Azim; but Zulfekkar

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 37. This document is not given in the Memoirs of Eradut Shah; and Major Rennell, not being aware of it, questions the assertion that Aurungzebe made, or ther recommended, a partition of the empire among his sons.

Khan, the favourite general of Aurungzebe, taking offence at the rejection of his advice at the commencement of the action, withdrew with his forces. The conflict was, however, maintained with an obstinacy proportioned to the importance of the stake; and its issue was decisive. The two elder sons of Azim were slain, and the other two were taken prisoners. Azim himself stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, who were surrounded by ten times their number, when, to avoid captivity, he stabbed himself to the heart.*

Another contest, however, remained to be decided, before Shah Allum could quietly enjoy the crown. The imperial throne was promised to Kâmbuksh by his own vanity, and by his astrologers; and although his generous brother, even when near him at the head of an irresistible army, invited him to enjoy in peace his kingdom of Bejapore and Golcondah, agreeably to their father's dying request, the infatuated prince rushed upon his own destruction. He was soon deserted by almost all his followers, and in a skirmish near Hyderabad, was taken prisoner, not before he had received a mortal wound. The Emperor then immediately began his march for the capital, though in the middle of the rains, leaving to his officers to execute whatever remained for the settling of those newly conquered territories, the scene of his father's mistaken ambition.

Shah Allum had, before leaving Caubul, assumed the title of Bahadar Shah. He does not appear to have disgraced his success by any subsequent acts of cruelty or revenge; but, during his short reign, supported his character for humanity. It is remarkable,

* Orme, 307. Mill, ii. 275.

that he does not appear to have had an opportunity of visiting, or at least of making any stay at either of the imperial cities, Agra or Delhi. His return from the Deccan was hastened by the daring inroads of a new enemy, who had appeared in considerable force in Lahore, and had carried their ravages to the banks of the Jumna. These were the Seiks, who, during the reign of Shah Jehan, had silently established themselves along the foot of the eastern mountains, and were rapidly advancing to that importance which renders them at present one of the principal powers in Hindostan. The religious indignation of the Emperor and his omrahs, concurred with political considerations, to render the chastisement of these formidable intruders a more pressing object than either the subjugation of the Rajpoots or the conquest of the Mahratta country.

The origin of this warlike sect "is to be traced back to the time of the Emperor Baber, when a celebrated dervish, being captivated with the beauty of the son of a grain-merchant of the Cshatrya caste, by name Nannuk, brought him to reside in his house, and instructed him in the sublime doctrines and duties of Islamism. Naanuk aspired beyond the merit of a learner. From theological writings which he perused, he selected, as he went on, such doctrines, expressions, and sentiments as captivated his fancy. At length, his selections approached to the size of a book; and being written (it is said with elegance) in the Punjabee dialect, the language of the country, were read by various persons, and admired. The fame of Nannuk's book was diffused. He gave it a name, *Kirrunt*; and by degrees, the votaries of Kirrunt became a sect. They distinguished themselves by a peculiar garb and manners, which resembled those of the moslem fakirs.

They united so as to live by themselves apart from the other inhabitants; and formed villages or communities, call sedangats, in which some one, as head of the community, always presided over the rest. Nannuk was followed by nine successors in the office of chief or patriarch of the whole sect; during whose time the Seiks led peaceable and inoffensive lives. Teeg Bahadur, the tenth in order, was perpetually followed by a large multitude of the enthusiasts of the sect; and united himself with a mussulman fakîr, who had followers approaching in number to his own. To subsist so numerous a body of idle religionists, the neighbouring districts were laid under contribution; and the saints, having tasted the sweets of a life of plunder and idleness, pushed their depredations, and became the scourge of the provinces. Aurungzebe, who was then upon the throne, commanded the governor of Lahore to seize the two leaders of the banditti; to banish the mussulman beyond the Indus, and to conduct the Hindoo to the fort of Gwalior, where he was put to death. The loss of their patriarch was far from sufficient to extinguish the religious flame of the Seiks. A son of Teeg Bahadur, whose family name was Govind, was raised to the vacant supremacy, and was distinguished by the name of Gooroo Govind; Gooroo being the title bestowed by a Hindoo on his religious instructor. The fate of his father taught him audacity; he instructed his followers, hitherto unarmed, to provide themselves with weapons and horses; divided them into troops; placed them under the command of those of his friends in whose conduct and fidelity he confided; and plundered the country by force of arms. He was not, however, able to withstand the troops of the province, which were collected to oppose him; his two sons were taken prisoners, and

he himself fled among the Afghâns. After a time he came back, disguised as an Afghân devotee; but falling into mental derangement, was succeeded by Banda, one of his followers, who assumed the name of Gooroo Govind, and resolved to take vengeance on the Moslems for the slaughter of the father and sons of his predecessor. To the robbery and plunder which had become the business of the Seiks, he added cruelty and murder. The moslem historians of these events are filled with horror as well as indignation, at the cruelties which he exercised upon the faithful, (to them alone, it seems, did they extend,) and describe as one of the most sanguinary of monsters, the man whose actions, had infidels been the sufferers, and a mussulman the actor, they might not, perhaps, have thought unworthy of applause. It was this Banda whose enormities Shah Allum hurried from the Deccan to interrupt and chastise. The rebels (so they were now denominated) deserted Sirhind upon the approach of the Emperor, and retired to Daber, a place of strength at the entrance of the mountains, and the principal residence of the Gooroo. When Daber was reduced to the last extremity, Banda, with his principal followers, retired to the mountains during the night. The presence of the Emperor suspended, but did not extinguish the depredations of the Seiks."*

Shah Allum (Bahadar Shah) died, after a short illness, in his camp at Lahore, in the year 1712. He left four sons, among whom a contest for the succession commenced on the spot. The second son, Azim Ooshaun, took possession of the imperial treasure; but a disdainful answer which he returned to the profferred services of Zulfekkar Khan, by convert-

* Mill, ii. 377–9.

ing that powerful omrah into an enemy, left him no chance of securing the throne. He was drowned in battle. In the subsequent conflict between the remaining brothers, the third was defeated, and the youngest was slain; and Moez-ud-deen, the eldest son, was proclaimed emperor under the title of Jehaundar Shah. He did not long enjoy his dignity, of which he proved himself unworthy by his weakness and shameless debaucheries. At the end of nine months, he was dethroned by Feroksere, the son of Azim Ooshaun, who, having gained the support of the governors of Bahar and Allahabad, two brothers of the order of syeds, advanced from Bengal with a powerful army. Jehaundar Shah, on the defeat of his troops, fled by night to Delhi, where he was put to death.

Feroksere began his reign, in the year 1713, with the usual precautions of an Oriental despot; that is, by murdering all who were the objects of his apprehension. The brave Zulfekkar Khan shared the fate of his master. Cheen Koolish Khan, the son of Ghazi-ud-deen Khan, the chief of the Tooranee Moguls,* was appointed to the regency of the Deccan, with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk (composer of the state); a common title, which he rendered remarkable in the modern history of India, by transmitting it to his posterity, and along with it, a kingdom in that region which he was now sent for a little time to superintend. The two syeds to whom Feroksere owed his throne, now became all-powerful; and it was not long before jealousies arose between the weak and timid Emperor and his ministers, which eventually broke out into

* The Tooranee Moguls were that part of the army which consisted of Mogul adventurers newly arrived from Tatary, and were so called in distinction from those who had been bred in Hindostan,

open discord. About the year 1718, Hussun Khan, one of the brothers, who had been made *Ameer-ul-Omrah*, was sent with a large force to reduce the rebellious Maha-rajah, Ajeet Singh, who deemed it better to yield than to contend with so powerful an army. One of the conditions imposed upon him was, that he should give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor. She was accordingly conveyed from her father's palace to that of Hussun, as her adopted father, who graced her nuptials with a magnificence surpassing all that had been hitherto seen in Hindostan. Just at this time, the Emperor was seized most inopportunely with indisposition, of which he was cured by a medical gentleman of the name of Hamilton; and this circumstance led to the granting of the first imperial *firmaun* to the East India Company, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties or customs, and which was regarded as the Company's commercial charter in India, so long as they stood in need of protection from the princes of the country.*

About the same time, Banda, the patriarch and leader of the Seiks, fell into the hands of his enemies. He had soon collected his followers after they were dispersed by Shah Allum; and shortly after the accession of Feroksere, the soubahdar of Lahore was sent against him, but was defeated with great slaughter. The *faujdar* (chief magistrate) of Sirhind was next commanded to take the field, but was assassinated in his tent by a Seik especially commissioned for the purpose. The governor of Cashmere was then

* Scott's "Successors of Aurungzebe," p. 139. in Mill, ii. 387; Rennell, lxvi. See also Mill, iii. 28. These circumstances took place in 1715. The imperial patents, owing to various delays, were not finally despatched till July 1717.

appointed to act against the heretics with a great army. After many severe engagements, Banda was driven to seek refuge in a fort, and famine compelled him at last to surrender. He was sent prisoner to the capital, where, after being ignominiously exposed, he was put to death by torture; and great cruelty was exercised towards his followers.

In the Deccan, Sahoojee, the son of Sambajee, had succeeded to the authority of his father and grandfather as head of the Mahrattas, and during the distractions in the Mogul empire, had experienced little resistance in extending the sphere of his domination and exactions. "Towards the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, the widow of Rama the brother of Sambajee, who, during the minority of Sahoojee, enjoyed a temporary authority, had offered to put a stop to all the predatory incursions of the Mahrattas under which the imperial provinces in Deccan so cruelly suffered, on condition of receiving a tenth part, which they call *deesmukkee*, of the revenues of the six provinces which composed the viceroyalty of Deccan. The pride of Aurungzebe revolted at the humiliating condition; and the offer was rejected with scorn. Daood Khan Punnee, however, who governed the country as deputy of Zulfekkar, during the reigns of Shah Allum and Jehandar, and who cultivated the friendship, rather than the enmity of the Mahrattas, agreed to purchase deliverance from their incursions by the payment of even the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenues of the Deccannee provinces; reserving only such districts as were held in *jagheer* by any princes of the blood-royal, and excluding the Mahrattas from the collection, which was to be performed by his own officers alone. Upon the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk as viceroy of Deccan, the *chout* gave rise to dispute and

hostilities; in which the viceroy gained a battle, and might have further checked the pretensions of the free-booters, had he not been recalled, after enjoying the government one year and some months. The Ameer-al-Omrah sent a force to dislodge a Mahratta chief who had established a chain of mud forts along the road from Surat to Boorahanpore, and, by means of them, plundered or levied a tax upon the merchants who trafficked between the two cities. The commander allowed himself to be drawn by the wily Mahratta into a place of difficulty, where he and the greater number of his soldiers lost their lives. A still stronger force was sent to dislodge the plunderer, who declined an action, and was followed by the imperial general as far as Sattara, the residence of Sahojee. But, before Sattara was besieged, the Ameer-al-Omrah, understanding that danger was increasing at Delhi, and that even Sahojee had received encouragement from the Emperor to effect his destruction, resolved, on any terms, to free himself from the difficulties and embarrassments of a Mahratta war. He not only granted the *chout*, but he added to it the *deesmukkee*; nay, admitted the Mahratta agents, with a respectable force at Aurungabad, to perform the collection of their own portion of the taxes. The provinces were thus freed from the ravages of military incursion; but the people were oppressed by three sets of exactors: one for the imperial revenue, one for the *chout*, another for the *deesmukkee*." *

Hussun, giving up to the Mahrattas such forts as he could not garrison, proceeded to the capital with an army, of which ten thousand were Mahrattas. He was attended by a youth whom he received from

* Mill, vol. ii., pp. 389 390.

Sahoojee as a son of Sultan Akbar, and who was treated with all the respect due to a grandson of Allumghire, and a competitor for the imperial throne. On his arrival, Feroksere, deserted by his party, threw himself upon the mercy of the Syeds, and was deposed without bloodshed or commotion. Ruffeh-al-Dirjaut, son of Ruffeh-al-Kudder, a grandson of Aurungzebe by a daughter of Akbar, was then taken from among the confined princes, and set upon the throne. He was labouring under a consumption, and died in five months after his exaltation. During this interval, Feroksere suffered a violent death; whether by his own hand or that of an assassin, is variously affirmed. Ruffeh-al-Dowlah, a sickly youth, the younger brother of Ruffeh-al-Dirjaut, succeeded him on the throne, and in three months followed him to the grave. The prince who was next invested with the symbols of royalty, was Rooshun Akter, son of Kojesteh Akter, the youngest son of Shah Allum, who began his reign in 1720, under the title of Mahomed Shah. Thus, within thirteen years from the death of Allumghire, five princes of his line had occupied an unstable throne; two of whom, together with six unsuccessful competitors for the crown, had fallen in the field, or been put to death. The natural consequence of this degraded state of the regal authority, was, a disposition in all the provincial governors to shake off their dependency on the head of the empire. "When the princes of the house of Timour were so eagerly pursuing the conquest of the Deccan," Major Rennell remarks, "it seems to have escaped their penetration, that this region, which possessed ample resources within itself, and innumerable local advantages in point of security from an enemy without, was also situated at such a distance from the capital, as to

hold out to its viceroy the temptation of independence, whenever a favourable opportunity might offer. Perhaps, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timour might still have swayed the sceptre of Hindostan."

The Nizam-ul-Mulk, after the death of Feroksere, had been induced to accept of the soubahdarship of Malwah. Upon taking possession of his government, he found the province in the most disordered state; the zemindars aiming at independence, and the country overrun with banditti. The vigorous operations necessary for the suppression of these enormities, justified the conduct of the Nizam in raising troops, provisioning his garrisons, and adopting all the measures best adapted to strengthen his authority. The Vizir and his brother were, however, not slow in discerning that these preparations looked beyond the mere defence of a province; and it became an object to remove the Nizam, without offending him, from so commanding a position. He was solicited to resign that government to the Ameer-ul-Omrah, in exchange for either Mooltan, Khandeish, Agra, or Allahabad. An insolent reply precipitated hostilities, and the Nizam resolved to seize upon the Deccan. Crossing the Nerbuddah, he got possession, through bribery, of the strong fortress of Asere and the city of Boorhanpore;* and he was soon joined by his relative, Eiwuz Khan, soubahdar of Berar, by a Mahratta chief who had quarrelled with Sahoojee, and by numbers of zemindars. He encountered and defeated the army which the brothers had sent to oppose him; conquered and slew in battle the governor of Aurungabad, who marched out against

* Formerly the capital of Khandeish. Asere (or Hasser) is fifteen miles N. of Boorhanpore.

him; and remained without a rival in the Deccan. The governor of Dowletabad held out; but the governor of Hyderabad joined him with 7000 horse. The Ameer-ul-Omrah now advanced with a great army, accompanied by the Emperor; but, on the fourth or fifth day's march, the Syed was assassinated. After he had received the mortal stab, he had strength to cry, Kill the Emperor; but the conspirators had taken measures for his protection, and the Ameer's nephew, who endeavoured to penetrate to the imperial tent, was overpowered and slain. The Vizir, on hearing the fate of his brother, took one of the remaining princes, and proclaimed him emperor. In a great battle fought at Shahpore, he was vanquished and taken prisoner; and Mahomed Shah, released from the state of tutelage in which he had been held by the Syeds, entered his capital in great pomp and ceremony, and was hailed as if it had been his accession to the throne.

The Nizam-ul-Mulk was now invited from the Deccan to receive the office of Vizir. "He earnestly exhorted the Emperor to apply his own mind to affairs, and to infuse vigour into the government, now relaxing and dissolving through negligence and corruption." But the pleasantries of his gay companions, who turned the person and the counsels of the old and rigid Vizir into ridicule, were more agreeable to the enervated mind of Mahomed; and the Nizam, in disgust, under pretence of coercing a refractory governor in Gujerat, withdrew from the capital. Saadut Khan was about the same time appointed Soubahdar of Oude. The Nizam, having reduced to his obedience the province of Gujerat, and taken possession of Malwah, which was also added to his extensive government, paid another visit to the capital, where he found the

temper of administration as negligent and dissolute as before. Despairing, or careless of a remedy, and boding nothing but evil, he thought only of securing himself in his extensive dominions; and under pretence of a hunting excursion, left the capital without leave, and pursued his march to Deccan. The Emperor, who now both hated and feared him, despatched a private message to the governor of Hyderabad to oppose and cut him off, with a promise of all his government of Deccan, as the reward of so meritorious a service. The bribe was too great to be resisted; but the undertaker paid the forfeit of his temerity with his life. The Nizam, however, was deprived of his vizireet, and of his new governments of Malwah and Gujerat. To be revenged, he encouraged his deputy in Gujerat to resist the imperial commands, and the Mahratta chiefs Peelajee and Coantojee, to invade the provinces. Some inadequate and unavailing efforts were made to oppose the progress of these Mahratta chiefs, who were afterwards joined (still at the instigation, it is said, of the old Nizam) by Bajeeraow, the general of Sahoojee. The struggle was upheld with more or less of vigour by the imperial deputies, till about the year 1732; when the provinces of Gujerat and Malwah might be regarded as completely reduced under Mahratta dominion. Never contented with present acquisitions, the Mahrattas made endless encroachments; and by degrees seized upon several districts in the soubahs of Agra and Allahabad, plundering even to the vicinity of Agra. When opposed by an army, they retreated; scoured the country; cut off supplies; and made flying attacks. When the opposing army was obliged to retrace its steps, they immediately re-seized the country, and still more extensively diffused their depredations. During the cala-

mities of the empire, Saadut Khan alone, among the omrahs and governors, exhibited any public spirit, or any manliness and vigour. Though his province, placed beyond the Ganga, was little exposed to the devastations of the destructive Mahrattas, he marched out, in 1735, to chastise a body of them, who were plundering to the very walls of Agra; overtook them by forced marches, brought on a battle, and gave them a signal overthrow. The wreck of the army joined Bajeeraow, in the neighbourhood of Gwalior. Saadut Khan intended to follow up his blow, to pursue the marauders to their own country, and redeem the last honour of the imperial arms. But the Ameer-al-Omrah, jealous of the glory, sent him orders to halt till he should join him with the troops of the capital. Bajeeraow, having time to restore animation to the Mahrattas, and learning the removal of the troops from Delhi, marched with Mahratta speed towards that capital, and communicated the first intelligence of his stratagem, by the fires which he lighted up in the suburbs. He was in possession of the outskirts of the city for three days before the approach of the imperial army made it necessary for him to decamp. He took the road to Malwah; and the pusillanimous monarch was advised by his dissolute courtiers, to purchase the promise of peace, by paying the *chout*, or fourth of his revenues to the Mahrattas."*

A more dreadful enemy was now about to fall upon the misgoverned and dismembered empire. This was Nadir Shah, who, after freeing Persia by his valour from the ignominious yoke of the Afghans, seated

* Mill, ii. 396—399.

himself on the throne, and had now advanced to Candahar, on a war of extermination against those restless barbarians. "Caubul, which already contained a great mixture of Afghauns, was now crowded with that people, fleeing from the cruelties of the foe. Nadir was not soon tired in the pursuit of his prey. He had reason to be dissatisfied with the government of Hindostan, to which he had sent repeated embassies, received with something more than neglect. In the general negligence and corruption which pervaded the whole business of government, the passes from Persia into Caubul were left unguarded. The Persian protested, that he meant neither hostility nor disrespect to his brother of Hindostan; and that, if not molested, he would chastise the accursed Afghauns, and retire. The opposition he experienced was indeed so feeble, as hardly to excite the resentment of Nadir; and after slaughtering the Afghauns in Caubul, he was ready to withdraw; when a circumstance occurred which kindled his rage. A messenger and his escort, whom he had despatched from Caubul to the emperor at Delhi, were murdered at Jellalabad by the inhabitants; and instead of yielding satisfaction for the injury, the silken courtiers of Mahomed counselled approbation, and ridiculed the supposition of danger from the shepherd and freebooter of Khorasan. That furious warrior hastened to the offending city, and slaughtered the inhabitants without mercy. From this, he pursued his route to Peishawir, and thence to Lahore; at both of which places he experienced but little opposition. He then turned his face directly to the capital, where Mahomed and his counsellors, wrapped in a fatal security, were not prepared to believe that the Persian usurper would dare to march against the Majesty of Hindostan. The Hindostanee

army, which had been two months in the field, had only advanced to Carnaul, four days' march from Delhi, where it was surprised by the appearance of the enemy, while Mahomed and his friends were yet ignorant of his approach. The hardy and experienced valour of Nadir's bands quickly spread confusion among the ill-conducted crowds of Mahomed. The Ameer-al-Omrah was mortally wounded, and died after leaving the field of battle. Saadut Khan fought till he was deserted by his followers, and taken prisoner. Nadir, who had no project upon Hindostan, left the disordered camp the next day, without an attack, and readily listened to the peaceful counsels of his prisoner, Saadut Khan, who hoped, if now set free, to obtain the vacant office of Ameer-al-Omrah. Mahomed honoured the Shah with a visit in his camp; and the Shah consented to evacuate Hindostan upon receipt of two *crores* of rupees. The insatiable avidity, however, of Nizam-ul-Mulk fatally defeated this happy agreement. He demanded, and was too powerful to be refused, the office of Ameer-al-Omrah. The disappointed and unprincipled Saadut hastened to inform Nadir, that two *crores* of rupees were no adequate ransom for the empire of Hindostan; that he himself, who was but an individual, would yield as great a sum; that Nizam-ul-Mulk, who alone had power to offer any formidable resistance, ought to be secured; and that Nadir might then make the wealth of the capital and empire his own. A new and dazzling prospect was spread before the eyes of the ravager. Mahomed Shah and Nizam-ul-Mulk were recalled to the Persian camp; when Nadir marched to Delhi, the gates of which were opened to receive him.

"For two days had the Persians been in Delhi,

and, as yet, observed the strictest discipline and order. But on the night of the second, an unfortunate rumour was spread, that Nadir Shah was killed; upon which the wretched inhabitants rose in tumult, ran to massacre the Persians, and filled the city throughout the night with confusion and bloodshed. With the first light of the morning, Nadir issued forth; and dispersing bands of soldiers in every direction, ordered them to slaughter the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, in every street or avenue where the body of a murdered Persian should be found. From sun-rise to mid-day, the sabre raged; and by that time, not fewer than 8000 Hindoos, Moguls, or Afghauns were numbered with the dead. During the massacre and pillage, the city was set on fire in several places. The destroyer at last allowed himself to be persuaded to stay the ruin: the signal was given, and in an instant, such was the authority of Nadir, every sword was sheathed.

"A few days after the massacre, a nobleman was despatched by Nadir, to bring from Oude the two *crores* of rupees promised by its governor, Saadut Khan; who, in the short interval, had died of a cancer in his back. On the same day, he commenced his seizure of the imperial treasure and effects; three *crores* and fifty *lacks* in specie; * a *crore* and fifty *lacks* in plate; † fifteen *crores* in jewels; ‡ the celebrated peacock throne, valued at a *crore*; § other valuables to the amount of eleven *crores*; ‖ besides

* £ 3,500,000
† 1,500,000
‡ 15,000,000
§ 1,000,000
‖ 11,000,000

"In all, if we believe our authorities, £32,000,000

elephants, horses, and the camp-equipage of the Emperor. The bankers and rich individuals were ordered to give up their wealth, and were tortured to make discovery of what they were suspected to have concealed. A heavy contribution was demanded of the city, and exacted with cruel severity: many laid violent hands upon themselves, to escape the horrid treatment to which they saw others exposed. Famine pervaded the city, and pestilential diseases ensued. Seldom has a more dreadful calamity fallen upon any portion of the human race, than that in which the visit of Nadir Shah involved the capital of Hindostan. Yet, a native and contemporary historian informs us, (such is the facility with which men accommodate themselves to their lot,) 'that the inhabitants of Delhi, at least the debauched, who were by far the most numerous part, regretted the departure of the Persians; and to this day (says he), the excesses of the soldiery are topics of humour in the looser conversation of all ranks, and form the comic parts of the drolls or players. The people of Hindostan, at this time, regarded only personal safety and personal gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it; and man, centered wholly in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindostan at the invasion of Nadir Shah; nor have the people become more virtuous since, consequently not more happy, nor more independent.' *

"Nadir, having ordered, as the terms of peace, that all the provinces on the west side of the Indus, Caubul, Tatta, and part of Mooltan, should be detached from the dominions of the Mogul, and added

* Aurungzebe's Successors, by Scott, p. 214.

to his own, restored Mahomed to the exercise of his degraded sovereignty; and, bestowing upon him and his courtiers some good advice, began, on the 14th of April, 1739, his march from Delhi, of which he had been in possession for thirty-seven days." *

The departure of Nadir left the Nizam in possession of the whole remaining power of the empire. He declined, however, the vizareet, which was bestowed upon one of his relations, while his eldest son was made Ameer-al-Omrah. The Nizam's views were directed towards establishing for himself an independent kingdom in the Deccan, which was now in jeopardy: his second son, whom he had left as his deputy, was already aspiring to independency. After several months spent without avail in negotiation, the father was obliged to draw his sword against the son. A victory gained in the neighbourhood of Ahmednuggur, restored to the Nizam his government, and made the rebel his father's prisoner. To compose the provinces subject to his command, was the work of years. The Mahrattas had again invaded the Carnatic; and the war which he carried on against them, was the most remarkable of his subsequent transactions. Nearly the whole of that great province was eventually recovered to his empire.

A refractory chief called the Emperor into the field in the year 1745. This was Ali Mahomed Khan, the founder of the power of the Rohillas; a name of some celebrity in the modern history of India. Ali Mahomed is said to have been a Hindoo of the caste of

* Mill, ii. 460—464. The reason assigned by Nadir for his lenient conduct towards Mahomed Shah, was, that he was, like himself, of Toorki lineage, and that Mahomed was a descendant of the noble house of Timour.—See MOD. TRAV., *Persia*, vol. i. pp. 203—206.

cow-keepers, but he had been adopted and reared by an Afghan of the Rohilla clan. He entered the army as a common soldier; was promoted to the command of a small body of Afghan cavalry, with which he distinguished himself in the army of the Vizir; and obtained, as a reward, a grant of land, with an appointment to manage certain districts in Moradabad. By degrees he increased the number of Afghans in his pay, and by successive acquisitions extended the limits of his authority, till they comprehended the greater part of the territory thenceforward known by the name of Rohilcund (Rohilla-khand). The progress of this adventurer at length alarmed the Viceroy of Oude, upon whose representations the Emperor was induced to take the field against him. The Rohilla, unable to resist the imperial army, shut himself up in one of his fortresses; but, on receiving the promise of pardon from the Vizir, who, from opposition to the Viceroy of Oude, supported him underhand, he surrendered, and was appointed *faujdar* of Sirhind.

On the death of Nadir Shah, who was murdered in his tent near Mushed, in June 1747, Ahmed Abdallah, one of his generals, seized upon Afghanistan and the bordering provinces in India that had been ceded to his master by Mahomed Shah, and proclaimed himself King of the Afghans, under the title of *Door-dooraun* (the Pearl of the Age).* Candahar, Caubul, and Lahore successively submitted to his arms, and he directed his ambitious views towards the capital of Hindostan. The Vizir advanced at the head of a

* The Dooranee Afghans (the present ruling tribe) were formerly called Abdaulees, till Ahmed Shah, in consequence of a dream of a famous saint at Chumkunee, changed it to Dooraunee, and took himself the title of Shah Dooree Dooraun.—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 114.

numerous army to repel the invasion, but, after several days skirmishing, was killed in his tent by a cannon-ball. On the following day, a still more disastrous accident occurred in the camp of the Afghans. A magazine of rockets and ammunition accidentally exploded, and killing a great number of people, spread through the army confusion and dismay; insomuch that Abdallah found it expedient to abandon his enterprise for the present, and marched back, unmolested, to Caubul. The Emperor just lived long enough to receive the welcome intelligence, and expired, his constitution exhausted by the use of opium, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was succeeded, without opposition, by his son, Ahmed Shah. About a month afterwards, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had been offered the vizireet, died, at the advanced age of a hundred and four, leaving his government of the Deccan to be seized by his second son, Nazir Jung.

In the reign of Ahmed Shah, which lasted about six years, the entire dissolution of the Mogul empire may be said to have taken place. The last army that could be reckoned imperial, was defeated by the Afghan monarch in 1749, when Mooltan and Lahore became finally severed from the dominion of the Moguls. About the same time, an expedition was undertaken against one of the Rajpoot chiefs, who had seized upon certain districts of Ajmeer: this war, too, was ill-conducted, and ended in disgrace. In Allahabad, the dangerous expedient had been resorted to by the Vizir, of calling in the aid of the Mahrattas to repel the Rohilla Afghans; and a large portion of country was resigned to them as a reward for their services. In like manner, the Ameer-al-Omrah, Ghazi-ud-deen, the grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was

induced to invite the co-operation of the Mahratta general, Holkar Mulhar, to clear the province of Agra of the Jaats. During the weak administration of Mahomed Shah, those mountaineers had extended their incursions to the very walls of Agra, and their chieftain first assumed the proud title of rajah. With Soorajee Mul, the present Jaat rajah, the Emperor was now induced to form an alliance, with a view to protect himself against the ambitious designs of his Ameer-al-Omrah. This step proved fatal to him: Ghazi-ud-deen marched to the capital, seized and blinded the Emperor, and bringing forth a son of the late Jehaundar Shah, raised him to the throne, with the title of Allumghire II.

This revolution occurred in the year 1753. The new Emperor might have been taught by the fate of his predecessor, what would be the probable consequence of his attempting to shake off the yoke of the minister to whom he owed his crown; but preferring a foreign protector to an overbearing subject, he invited the aid of the Doorauree Shah, whom Ghazi-ud-deen had exasperated by an attempt on Lahore. For some weeks, Delhi was again at the mercy of a barbarian soldiery; and when Ahmed Abdullah retired, he left Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, a Rohilla chief, who had been made Ameer-al-Omrah, as deputy guardian of the shadow of royalty. No sooner, however, had the Doorauees made their retreat, than Ghazi-ud-deen returned, and besieged the Ameer and his imperial *protegé* in the capital. The former escaped to Rohilcund, where he was soon joined by the eldest son of Allumghire; but the Emperor again fell into the power of his vizir, who, in 1759, caused him to be assassinated.

Alee Gohur, who afterwards assumed the title of

Shah Allum II., may be considered as having nominally succeeded to the fallen empire of Delhi; although he was now a fugitive, without territory and without friends, save a few omrahs attached to his family. After passing through repeated vicissitudes, the detail of which belongs to the history of British India, he was enabled, in May 1771, to march from Allahabad, where he had for some years resided under British protection, at the head of 16,000 men; and by a treaty with the Mahrattas, on the 25th of December, he re-entered the capital of his ancestors. By this ill-advised step, he threw himself, in fact, into the hands of the Mahrattas, whose prisoner and instrument he thenceforth became, while he deprived himself of all the solid advantages he had derived from his alliance with the Bengal Government. A few years after, Ghoolam Khadir, a Rohilla chieftain, who had been made Ameer-al-Omrah, rebelled against the unhappy monarch, and deprived him of his eyes. In this state he fell into the power of Sindia, the Mahratta, who, in 1788, assisted by French officers, got possession of Delhi. He remained a state prisoner in his palace, in poverty and neglect,* when in 1803, Delhi was taken by the British army under General (Lord) Lake, and the Imperial Mogul became the pensioner of English merchants. By the arrangements now made, over the city of Delhi and a small portion of surrounding territory, a nominal sovereignty was

* "It was during this period," we are told, "that most of the marble and inlaid ornaments of the palace were mutilated, since they were actually sold to buy bread for himself and his children." —HEBER'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 567. Mr. Mill, however, zealously vindicates the conduct of the French officers who had the care of the Emperor's person, from the charge of inhumanity, although he seems to admit that he was found in extreme poverty.—MILL, vol. vi. p. 418.

reserved to the Emperor. The whole was, indeed, to remain under the charge of the British Resident; but the revenues were to be collected, and justice to be administered, in the name of the Mogul. Besides the produce of this territory, the sum of 90,000 rupees was to be issued from the treasury of the Resident for the expenses of the Imperial household.* In fact, his Majesty, Shah Allum, Emperor of Hindostan, as he was still styled by the Governor General, was reduced to the state of Lord Mayor of the city of Delhi.

In this shadowy royalty, the aged monarch was succeeded by his son Akbar, the present Emperor, now between sixty and seventy years of age;—"a good-tempered, mild old man, of moderate talents, but polished and pleasing manners." Still, every inch an Emperor, he is said to have felt deeply wounded by the demand of Lord Hastings to sit in his presence.† Still, when he holds his state, his officers proclaim his titles, "the Ornament of the World, the Asylum of Nations, King of Kings! the Emperor Akbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" He is all this—by courtesy and heraldic right; for he is the very representative of Tamerlane and Baber, of Akbar and Aurungzebe; the living relic, the picturesque and not uninstructive memorial, of all the power, and wealth, and greatness once associated with the name of the GREAT MOGUL.

* Mill, vol. vi. p. 492. † Heber, vol. i. p. 568.

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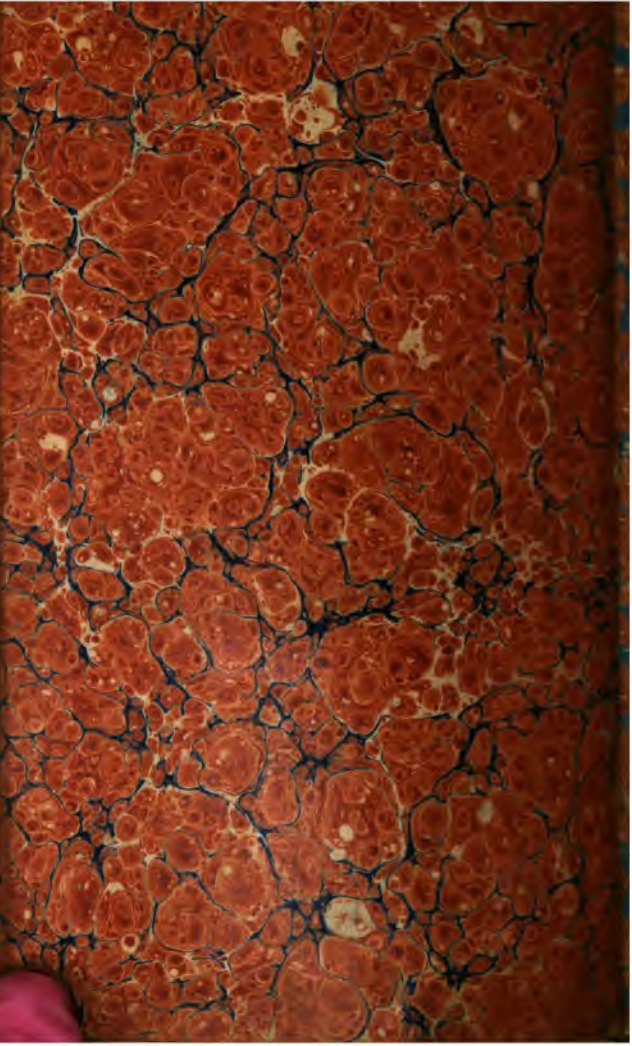
LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford-Street.